ALIENATION OF ELDERLY KOREAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS AS RELATED TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE, GENDER, AGE, YEARS OF EDUCATION, TIME IN THE U.S., AND LIVING ARRANGEMENT

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Alienation among immigrants remains a significant problem as long as individuals cannot adjust to new cultural and social norms or separate themselves from old norms. This inability to feel a part of the new society leads the alienated individuals to feel that they are isolated on an island. Alienation is defined as the feeling and fact of disconnectedness from social settings such that the individuals view their relationship to the environment as no longer tenable (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). As such, alienation is likely to be directly related to individual's experience of drastic social cultural change. Their inability to connect to and communicate with others furthers these persons' sense of isolation, loneliness, powerlessness, and meaninglessness. The immigrant is particularly vulnerable to these feelings. For immigrants, alienation, as a product of cultural and geographical estrangement, brings about the feeling of being a stranger in a strange land. Thus, in addition to the stress of accomodating a new culture, immigrants who become alienated are forced to deal with an increasingly complex set of anxieties and frustrations resulting in a wide range of mental health problems.

Handlin (1951) made several observations on the stress of immigration, believing that immigrants live "in crisis" because they are "uprooted." They exist in a state of "transplantation while their roots are sundered" (p. 6) waiting to establish new roots. In addition to feelings of isolation and estrangement, an external locus of control and feelings of powerlessness are also associated with

alienation (Horwitz, 1979; Reimanis & Posen, 1980; & Tomeh, 1974). In addition to culture shock, immigrants face other adjustment problems, including language difficulty and, possibly, discrimination.

As many other studies have shown (Brislin, 1981; Dyal & Dyal, 1981; Handlin, 1951; & Sluzki, 1979), culture change is usually stressful and painful for immigrants. This is particularly likely to be true when there is no large, well-established ethnic community into which the immigrants can be absorbed (Kiefer, Kim, Choi, Kim, Kim, Shon, & Kim, 1985). Also, alienation may be further exacerbated for those immigrants who experience the drastic socio-cultural change of moving from a non-Western to a Western culture, or vice versa. Immigrating from East to West will surely compound the immigrant experience because of the immigrants' need to accommodate the extreme cultural differences. Therefore, it seems likely that these immigrants would be more at risk for psychological stress than those who move within similar cultural contexts. Currently, this is very much the situation of Korean immigrants in most parts of the United States. For despite these immigrants' desire to be in America and to establish a better life for themselves and for their families, confronting the realities of living in a foreign culture may engender various psychological conflicts, a primary result of these conflicts being the feeling of alienation.

Research (Park, 1975) has further verified that psychological stresses coming from cultural change are especially intense among elderly immigrants, for they are likely to be less adaptable to the radically changing norms of their immigrant experience than the younger generation. Thus, the older the immigrant, the more difficult the adjustment. Since their original culture has been so deeply rooted in their thinking, the elderly immigrants lack the psychological resources to deal with such radical change. For elderly minority

immigrants, moving to the United States may be particularly stressful. Since the minority aged are systematically excluded from access to social and economic opportunity, they suffer most from discrimination, low income, lack of access to or knowledge of health services, inadequate housing, and other deprivations (Whang, 1987). Thus, the situation of the Asian elderly immigrants has been particularly characterized as being in "quadruple jeopardy" (Domanlum, 1983) because they are poor, in the minority, old, and non-English speaking.

Newly immigrated elderly Korean Americans* have grown up in a traditional Confucian society, which has radically different social norms from those of Western culture. Confucianism is, and has been for more than 2,000 years, the dominant philosophical system in China and nearby countries, including Korea. Confucian ethical teaching, in general, and the doctrine of filial piety, in particular, have exercised tremendous influence over Korea. Filial piety is considered as the root of moral life. According to this system, children are obliged to serve, support, and obey as expressions of genuine love for parents. Of all social institutions, the family is most important in Confucianism. Thus, when confronted with a non-Confucian culture in which individualism and the development of independence from one's parents is highly valued, the Korean elderly may well experience psychological shock, thereby increasing the problem of adaptation.

Most Korean-American elderly are recent immigrants and the majority of them are "followers of children" (Cuellar & Weeks, 1980; & Kwon, 1978), that is they are immigrating in order to maintain family ties (Kiefer et al., 1985). But upon arriving in the United States, they become painfully aware of a deep

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*The term "elderly Korean Americans" as used in this study refers to those Korean elderly who have become permanent residents in the United States, but does not necessarily indicate citizenship.

sense of isolation in the bewildering and often hostile environment of a "strange land" (Kang & Kang, 1983). While members of the younger generation seek to adapt to the American culture, which emphasizes a nuclear family system and encourages children to become independent of their parents, Korean elderly, as new immigrants, face a challenge to their status of respect as elders; thus, feelings of confusion and isolation result. Completely uprooted from their familiar cultural and social systems in the old country, the elderly Korean immigrants are totally unprepared for their "alien" surroundings (Kang & Kang, 1983). During the process of assimilation to a new culture, they find radical discrepancies between what they expected their life to be and what it is.

Among the problems raised, the adjustment to a different living arrangement is urgent for the elderly. Brought up with the notion that the aged may live with their children without reservation, the Korean elderly face a dilemma in the problem of living arrangements. As the following data shows their living arrangements in the United States are quite different from those in Korea. According to a survey by Koh and Bell (1987), in the New York City area about 19% of elderly Koreans living alone while 76% live with family members (25% living with a spouse only and 51% living with their children). The remaining 5% lived with others. By contrast, in a similar sample in South Korea, only 4% lived alone, while almost 93% lived with their families, and the remaining 3% with others. A more recent survey (Park, 1987) also shows that 40% of the Korean elderly who live in New York City moved out of their children's homes into rented houses or low-income housing. Park (1987) also mentions that Korean elderly in New York City don't rely on their adult children in many ways, unlike those in Korea. On the other hand, Kiefer et al.'s (1985) survey shows that the elderly Korean immigrants who live alone encounter more difficulty in psychological adaptation than those who live with their

children. Furthermore, when the Korean elderly, who formerly lived in Korean society with its traditional emphasis on the respected status of the elderly in the family, decide to move away from their family, these elderly may experience added psychological conflicts with their family members.

Beyond family separation, other problems--such as language difficulty, transportation problems, and discrimination by the host society--cause the Korean elderly to experience feelings of alienation. Thus, confronted with a host of problems traditionally associated with immigration and also with problems particularly associated with elderly and non-Western immigration, the elderly Korean immigrants who as a group are on of the latest minorities to immigrate to the United States, provide a researcher with a microcosmic view of the stresses of immigration generally, of immigration for the elderly, and of immigration for the non-Western stranger. Therefore, investigating the degree of alienation that elderly Korean immigrants experience is an important step to further understanding of the special needs of this recent but little-studied immigrant group.

Purpose of the Study

This study examined the relationships between levels of alienation, including feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation, and the variables of place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., and living arrangement. In an effort to explore a broad spectrum of the elderly Koreans living in the United States, subjects were drawn from two residency situations--those living in a large ethnic Korean ghetto and those who are integrated into an American community. Both elderly men and elderly women who are over age 60 were selected. Elderly who have some education

or those who have no education and elderly who have lived at least one year and no more than 15 years in the united States were included as subjects. And subjects were divided between the elderly who live with spouse or those who live without spouse and elderly who live with children or those who live without children. Alienation was measured by Dean's Alienation Scale which includes separate scales for powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation.

In addition, this study investigated the experience of alienation among elderly Korean American immigrants through in-depth interviews structured so to appear as informal as possible with interviewees responding at length to the researcher in a conversational manner. The purpose of the in-depth interview was to ascertain the particulars of each immigrant's situation and to investigate if there are any general trends among these particulars.

Definitions

1. Place of residence--Place of residence was defined as living in either Los Angeles or Oklahoma.
2. Gender--Gender was defined as either male or female.
3. Age--Age was defined as chronological age.
4. Years of education--Years of education was defined as number of years of formal schooling received in Korea.
5. Time in the U.S.--Time in the U.S. was defined as the number of years lived in the United States.
6. Living arrangement 1--Living arrangement 1 was defined as living with or without spouse.
7. Living arrangement 2--Living arrangement 2 was defined as living with or without children.

Research Questions

1. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and place of residence?
2. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and gender?
3. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and age?
4. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and years of education?
5. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and time in the U.S.?
6. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and living arrangement 1?
7. Is there a relationship between level of alienation and living arrangement 2?

Significance of the Study

Korean Americans are one of the largest and fastest growing cultural minorities in the United States. A total of 70,598 Koreans were identified as residing in the United States by the 1970 U.S. Census (PC-1-D1, 1973); 4.6% of this group were 60 years of age and older. Furthermore, since 1976, the number of Korean immigrants has exceeded thirty thousand annually (Yu, 1983); by 1980, the total number of Koreans increased more than five times to a total of 354,593 (PC-1-B1, 1983), of whom 14,616 or 4.1% were aged 60 years and older. Taking into account the continuous inflow of immigrants from Korea and the natural increase among Korean Americans, by the end of 1984 the Korean population in the United States was estimated to have been over a half million persons (Koh & Bell, 1987). About 21,000 persons of this total, or 4.2%,

were estimated to be 60 years and older. Yet in spite of these above figures, research on elderly Korean immigrants is limited in almost every respect. Only in the last few years has the study of the Korean elderly begun to receive attention by several researchers (Kang & Kang, 1983; Kiefer et al., 1985; Koh & Bell, 1987; & Whang, 1987).

Elderly Korean Americans who have lived most of their lives in Korea and have been educated by the Confucian ethic, suffer from the sudden change of culture and codes of action that come with immigration into the United States; however, only a few comprehensive studies have examined these elderly Korean Americans' psychological stresses, and alienation has not been a focal point of any study about this group. Therefore, the results of this study will provide information for social workers or counselors who are not familiar with the unique characteristics of Korean elderly in America, a group which has previously been generally neglected by researchers. More research is needed to further our understanding of the unique situation of the Korean elderly in America.

Another important aspect of this study is the positive impact it may have on intergenerational relationships. The second and the third generation, who have been more assimilated into American society than the first generation which is the sample of this study, will have a chance to recognize their elderly's deep psychological conflicts. Not only family members, but also people who are in the Korean community in the United States should know how elderly Korean Americans feel and what kind of problems they have in a strange society.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter is divided into five major sections. In the first section, an overview of alienation is presented. Alienation scales are reviewed in the second section. In the third section, adjustment problems of immigrants in general are discussed. Adjustment problems of Korean immigrants are the focus of the fourth section. Ethnicity and aging are considered in the fifth section. The final section is devoted to a comparison between the traditional family backgrounds of Korean Americans and their new living situations as immigrants in the United States.

An Overview of Alienation

Although the term alienation has often been cited as typical of modern man's predicament, the concept of alienation is far from new. As a concept, alienation can be traced as far back as the Old Testament (Overend, 1975) which shows alienation as a separation from God. And, alienation continues to be a key concern in contemporary society. As a term, alienation was first elaborated on in the Phenomenology of the Spirit by Hegel (1807). He noted that man's condition was to be alienated from himself and that nature exists as a self-alienated form of the Absolute Mind. Continuing Hegel's discourse, Marx most convincingly described the process which would lead from alienation to

revolution. It was Marx who used and broadened the term "alienation" to describe the estrangement of workers from their work and from their society in the wake of increasing industrialization (Bottomore & Rubel, 1956). Subsequently, the term alienation has been used in a variety of ways by philosophers, theologians, and sociologists, and more recently by psychologists and psychoanalysts.

Marx saw capitalism's isolation of the workers from the products, human essence, and other men as the primary cause of alienation, while sociologists, such as Durkheim (1951) and Merton (1957) emphasized that dislocation has been a byproduct of the rise of industrialization in the nineteenth century. Durkheim developed the notion of "anomie" to emphasize the deplorable condition characterized by the rampant individualism and the disintegration of traditional society and shared values. Focusing on the assumptions that underlie these conceptions, later scholars, such as Merton, treated alienation as a psycho-social fact or, that is, as resulting in a sense of estrangement and powerlessness.

Since the 1930s, the concept of alienation began to appear explicitly in many areas. Existentialist philosophers and theologians, such as Kierkegaard, Tillich, and Sartre, emphasized the painful estrangement of people from God, from their fellows, of from themselves. They focused on the causes and consequences of alienation, its relationship with modern society, and its ultimate meaning in society. Psychologists, such as Fromm (1955), began to quantify the pervasiveness of alienation in modern society stemming from the discrepancy of people to their work, the things they consume, to the country, to their acquaintances, and to themselves. Moving from these models, the alienation of people from society became a focal point for sociologists. For example, Becker (1961) saw alienation as a central concept accompanying

sudden cultural change. Here, alienation awakens the frustrations of dispossessed people, whose loss of familiar objects results in psychological depression, leading to social isolation or a feeling of separation from the group.

Still others have expanded and compounded our understanding of alienation. At times, alienation has been used in different and sometimes conflicting ways by the same writer (Schacht, 1970; & Stokols, 1975). In fact, as Schacht (1970) and other writers (Kanungo, 1979; & Boeree, 1980) claim, despite the concern with the phenomenon of alienation, there is no clear-cut definition of alienation. According to Johnson (1973), alienation can be viewed as both a concept and as an experience in contemporary society, and therefore denotes a great variety of often quite dissimilar phenomena.

Therefore, the concept of alienation represents a multidimensional phenomenon rather than a unitary phenomenon. In listing different forms of alienation, many scholars tried to clarify the multidimensional nature of the phenomenon. For example, Seeman (1975), building on his earlier work (1959), classified alienation as follows: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, self estrangement, cultural estrangement, and social isolation, while Dean (1961) experimented with quantifying feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation, at the same time examining the intercorrelations between these feelings. Moreover, Feuer (1963) focused on the differences in the focal aspects of society. These focal points represent alienation of class society, competitive society, industrial society, man's society, race, and generations. The work of these researchers was made possible by earlier studies; Barakat (1969) analyzed the characteristics of alienation by concentrating on its social sources, psychological properties, and on the behavioral consequences of alienation, while Scott (1965) made distinctions as

to sources--lack of commitment to values, absence of conformity to norms, loss of responsibility in roles, and deficiency in control of facilities.

Present-day writers who use the term "alienation" continue to differ very much in the ways in which they understand and define the term. Within a social context, alienation has generally referred to a state of separation between the individual and the environment. Social definitions of alienation place significant emphasis on the negative sequelae of separation, including social isolation, social or cultural estrangement, feelings of despair and hopelessness, and states of stress or anxiety (Nicassio, 1983). In this regard, Schacht (1970) notes that the essential quality of alienation is separation or distance between two or more entities, accompanied by such negative states as anguish or tension. Similarly, Johnson (1973) describes social alienation in terms of separation from other people and disassociation from cultural norms and values. Earlier, Clark (1959) defined alienation as the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations.

From many definitions, Overend (1975) identified alienation with "separation," "salesability," "loss," "reification," and "estrangement." Cahill (1979) describes the word alienation as used to mean and/or being associated with numerous phenomena:

> anomie, anomia, personal powerlessness, political powerlessness, deficiency, purposelessness, hopelessness, loneliness, loss of self, loss of beliefs and/or values, retreatism, fragmentation, meaninglessness, isolation, uprootedness, pessimism, anxiety, depersonalization, apathy, anguish, narcissism, depression, suicide, emotional numbness, lack of spontaneity, stifled creativity, neurosis, psychosis, despair, conformity, cynicism and/or authoritarianism (p. 2).

In spite of the many efforts put forth by scholars to clarify the problem of alienation, the idea of alienation still remains an ambiguous concept with

elusive meanings. However, for the purposes of this study, the multi-valent definition of alienation proposed by Dean's Alienation Scale, with its emphasis on studying inter-correlations present in highly complex alienation responses, comes closest to describing the elderly Korean-American experience.

Review of Alienation Scales

The concept of alienation has become one of the most widely used and misused terms of our time (Robinson & Shaver, 1973). Many researchers have created alienation scales derived from their own view or concept of alienation. A review of the literature turned up seven alienation scales, which are reviewed in this section: Olsen's (1969) political alienation, Streuning & Richardson's (1965) alienation via rejection, Middleton's (1963) alienation, Horton & Thompson's (1962) political alienation, Davids' (1955) alienation, Clark's (1959) alienation within a social system, and Dean's (1961) alienation. Each scale's variables, description, reliability, validity, and comments are presented. Then, the reasons for selecting Dean's alienation scale for this study are explained.

Olsen conceptualized alienation as being of two distinct types: attitudes of incapability and attitudes of discontentment. Feelings of incapability include guidelessness, powerlessness, and normlessness, while feelings of discontentment include dissimilarity, dissatisfaction, and disillusionment. Each type of alienation has four items, giving a total of eight items to measure political alienation. One point is given for each statement with which the respondent agrees. The coefficient of reproducibility for the incapability scale was .893, with .921 for the discontentment scale. The differences in political participation were studied to assess the validity of the incapability scale and the

discontentment scale. Robinson & Shaver (1973) argued that both scales do predict political participation. However, the internal consistency of the item is not high and they appear liable to an agreement response set.

The Streuning-Richardson Scale of alienation via rejection is derived from a set of items that emerged as the first factor from a factor analysis of three related attitude domains. The scale consists of 16 items in the six-point Likert-like format. Five of the items are from the Srole's Anomia scale (Srole, 1956). Internal consistency coefficients for the alienation factor was .86. No data bearing on the validity of this scale have been reported.

Middleton conceived of six types of alienation: powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, cultural estrangement, social estrangement, and work estrangement. The six items in the scale are presented in agree-disagree format. The coefficient of reproducibility of .90 was attained. No test-retest data are reported. No data bearing on validity are reported. Middleton has found dramatic differences between Whites and Negroes with these items.

Horton and Thompson attempted to measure political alienation, which is seen as having two separate aspects; powerlessness and consciousness of potentially menacing power. The scale consists of four items, two measuring each aspect of alienation. Three of these items are of the agree-disagree type. The other item is in a multiple choice format. No reliability data is reported, neither is any data bearing directly on validity. The power consciousness item appears to predict whether citizens would vote at all, and if they did, powerlessness then predicted a "no" vote on a referendum.

Davids defined alienation by high scores on five interrelated dispositions: egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety and resentment. His scale consists of 50 items from an Affect Questionnaire which contains 80 statements. No test of item reliability is mentioned. The rank order in terms of ego structure of the

subjects by the psychologist was correlated with their rank order on the alienation scale.

Clark defined alienation as the degree to which a man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations, or the discrepancy between the power a man has and what he believes he should have. The scale consists of five items; one of the items consists of an interviewer's rating, the other four are close-ended questions. The coefficient of reliability, computed by the split-half method, is .70. No test-retest data is reported. Evidence bearing on validity is given by the correlations between alienation and respondent reports: members' satisfaction in the organization = -.62, participation in the organization = -.37, and knowledge-degree to which member is informed about the organization = -.30. Because Clark's scale was developed for use with members of an agricultural cooperative, its applicability is somewhat limited (Robinson & Shaver, 1973).

Dean measured alienation through three separate components: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. The alienation scale is composed of the sum of 24 items presented in a standard 5-point Likert-like format. Dean found the reliabilities to be .78 for powerlessness, .73 for normlessness, .84 for social isolation, and .78 for the test as a whole. This alienation scale was correlated with Srole's (1956) anomia scale. Dean speculated that his variable might be a situation-relevant variable, rather than a personality trait.

Dean's alienation scale was selected to measure level of alienation for elderly Korean Americans for several reasons. First, Dean's alienation scale measures three separate dimensions of alienation, unlike Clark's (1959) and Horton and Thompson's (1962) which are limited to measuring political alienation. Also, at least an attempt was made to test for reliability and to

establish the instrument validity of Dean's scale, unlike scales by Streuning and Richardson (1965), Middleton (1963), Horton and Thompson (1962), and Davids (1955), all of which lack reliability and/or validity information.

Adjustment Problems of Immigrants

Throughout the history of human kind, wherever there has been unoccupied and desirable land, or the possibility of finding a place in a land already occupied, or the chance of avoiding starvation or war, human beings have migrated (Simpson & Yinger, 1985). Large population migrations throughout the world have occurred in the wake of World War II. Consequently, in recent times there has been much interest in the effects of immigration on the social and psychological adjustments of immigrants. Studies have investigated broader range of immigrant populations and documented the enormous set of problems, pitfalls, and tragedies associated with movement from one society to another (Davie, 1946 & Stephenson, 1926). Most of the research suggests that the main problems experienced among immigrants are cultural differences, racial discrimination, language barriers, and family crisis.

Cultural differences: Cultural shock happens when the familiar psychological cues that help an individual function in society are strange or incomprehensible (Toffler, 1970). Immigrants, therefore people who migrate to countries whose cultural characteristics are totally different from their own, are more likely to experience a more painful form of culture shock. For example, in considering the total admissions to psychiatric hospitals, Odegaard, as cited by Sanua (1970, p. 324) found that admission rates among the Norwegian-born in Minnesota were about thirty to fifty percent higher than those of American born, and higher than among Norwegians living in Norway proper. Brody (1970)

indicated that when a person shifts via migration from one socioculture to another, behavioral modes useful in the old setting may prove maladaptive in the new. For example, acute sensitivity which permits emphatic understanding in one group may be perceived as discomfort-provoking vigilance or paranoia in another.

Sue and Sue (1971) and Sommers (1960) reported that the individual may develop a kind of racial self-hatred after assimilating in host society and this result leads to lowered self-esteem and intense conflicts. Being heirs to two different cultural traditions and having difficulty in reconciling their effects on one's own personality may bring cultural conflicts to an individual of a minority group. Sue (1973) explained that:

> An individual may find it difficult to decide to which culture he owes primary loyalty. Such a person has been called a marginal man. Because of his or her marginal status, he or she often experiences an identity crisis and feels isolated and alienated from both cultures.

Racial discrimination: A certain degree of discrimination and prejudice are characteristics of any society. America is not an exception. Wagner (1973) argued that "many Americans, in all probability the majority of White Americans, maintain a racist position--namely, that non-White Americans are in fact inferior to the majority of White Americans" (p. 51). In fact, there have been occasions where Asian Americans have been subjected to much discrimination and have been victims of unjustified prejudices (Sue & Sue, 1971). Their problems in immigrating between cultures are complicated by the degree of divergence between the culture they left behind and the native group to which they are assimilating. In essence, the strain of East meeting West intensifies the racial problem of the Oriental.

Wirth (1980) describes a minority group as "any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who, therefore, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination" (p. 126). Although the immigration law of 1965 abolished this discriminatory policy against Orientals, the attitude of the general public toward Oriental immigrants seems to have changed only slightly (Park, 1975).

Language difficulties: As many researchers have indicated, overcoming language problems is the most difficult task for immigrants' adjusting to the host society (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981; Nguyen & Henkin, 1982; Koh & Bell, 1987; Hurh, 1977; & Yu, 1983). Immigrants are urged to adopt the language of the dominant group, yet many adult immigrants never successfully learn the new language (Landis, 1967). Osako (1979) found that the language barrier even prevents intimate communication between elderly Japanese American and the younger generation, thus, bringing about a generation gap and feelings of alienation.

Family crisis: The roles and functions of family are reported to be vitally important in promoting the psychological adjustment of immigrants (Mintz & Schwartz, 1964). This emphasis on family is especially important for Asian Americans, who, compare to the typically nuclear American family, strongly focus on the maintenance of cultural traditions, the stability of the extended family unit, all the while exerting strong pressures on members to conform to the old world culture (Sue, 1973).

Mead (1970) has reported that the possibility for disruption of the old world family unit is significant when all three generations leave the homeland and move together to another country, where the awareness of difference opens the way to a new choice for the child. Frequently, crisis creeps into the family

through the offspring, for children tend to assimilate into the new culture and the new language (verbal and nonverbal) much more rapidly than their parents do, unleashing a clash of values and styles that strikes at the core of the family (Sluzki, 1979). So migration may create significant conflict between immigrant generations.

Variables affecting adjustment problems: Residence, educational background, age, gender, length of residence, living status, economic problems, language facility, and other individual factors are seen to affect adjustment problems. In the last thirty years, each of these variables has received special attention by scholars.

Researching the effect of residence on adjustment, Murphey (1965), reporting on mental health rates of Chinese in Canada, indicated that the lowest hospitalization rates were to be found in areas which had a real Chinatown. This factor could possibly attributed to community cohesiveness. The relative ethnic heterogeneity of a community was cited as another factor of adjustment. Starr and Roberts (1982), reporting on the adjustment experiences of Vietnamese refugees, indicated that the greater the heterogeneity of the community, the higher the level of adjustment in host community.

Investigating the relationship between formal schooling and adjustment, Kiefer et al. (1985), Choi (1982), and Kranau et al. (1982) found that the higher the level of education, the more satisfactory the individual's personal adjustment among the immigrants. Meinhardt et al. (1986) also indicated that higher educational attainment was associated with a lesser percentage of individuals demonstrating psychological distress and dysfunction. On the other hand, Malzberg (1965) felt that a higher education for certain minority immigrant groups may be conducive to higher rates of mental illness, as in the case of Puerto Ricans in New York. Starr and Roberts (1982) also reported that the

higher the level of education obtained by a refugee, the poorer the personal adjustment. Nguyen and Henkin (1982) found that although Vietnamese refugees with higher levels of education experienced the higher levels of occupational adjustment, they were less positive in their attitudes toward the new country.

Working with the question of the correlation between age and adjustment, Gordon (1973) and Park (1975) asserted that the younger the generation at the time of immigration, the easier the acculturation. The younger generation tends to have less problems in learning new languages and new values compared to the older generation.

Studying gender, Kang, et al. (1985) found that the females were more identified with high risk factors for poor health status. Furthermore, Jackson (1980) argues that minority aged women tend to be at higher risk than minority aged men for psychological problems. However, Owie's (1982) study showed that there was no significant difference in the level of social alienation between female and male foreign students.

Considering length of residence, evidence indicates that the longer the immigrants have lived in the host society after immigration, the better the adjustment pattern. Desbarats (1986) and Nguyen and Henkin (1982) found that those Vietnamese refugees who have lived longer in the United States showed better adaptation than those who arrived later. Kiefer et al. (1985) also found that the person who arrived in the United States recently had greatest risk for difficulty in psychological adaptation. Brody (1964) found that recent immigrants were more anxious, and showed more distrust than those who have lived longer.

Living status, where and with whom the immigrant resides, is also a crucial factor in adjustment. Some studies (Macdonald & Macdonald, 1964; & Omari,

1956) have shown that close family ties facilitate adjustment and the eventual incorporation of immigrants into the formal structures of the receiving society. Kiefer et al. (1985) also indicated that those persons who were at greatest risk for difficulty in psychological adaptation were those who lived alone.

Considering the impact of the refugee's social and economic position, Starr and Roberts (1982) reported that the higher the person's monthly income and the better his or her English skills, the greater that person's reported well-being. Also, in his study of a sample of Indochinese refugees, Nicassio (1983) revealed that alienation was significantly related to all measures of adjustment. In particular, there is a strongly inverse relationship between alienation and socioeconomic status of the family ($r = -.52$) and English proficiency ($r = -.55$).

Adjustment Problems of Korean Americans

Since Korean American immigrants are a minority group, and have recently arrived into a society with a very different social and cultural background, it can be expected that there will be difficulties in their transition. The problem most frequently expressed by the Korean Americans is the frustration of dealing with a language barrier, in that the first desire expressed by respondents is to learn English (Choi, 1982). For first-generation Korean immigrants, their lack of understanding of the spoken English is a serious problem (Kwon, 1978). Ninety-one percent of foreign-born Koreans listed Korean as their major spoken language (Yu, 1983).

Language barriers cause many problems among Korean immigrants, including unemployment and underemployment, communication problems between family members, and even identity crises for children (Choi, 1982;

Hurh, 1977; Hong, 1982; & Yu, 1983). Yu (1983) showed that in the initial stages of adjustment, Korean immigrants suffer downward job mobility. Because of language difficulty and lack of familiarity with American customs, the majority of immigrants start with jobs much lower than the ones for which they have been trained. Consequently, they confront economic struggle for survival in this first period.

According to Choi's (1982) survey, communication problems between parents and their children were serious among Korean Americans, especially among those who have been in the United States for some time. While children are able to speak fluent English after being in the United States for only two or three years, the degree of improvement in communication in English by their parents is very slow. In most cases, communication between parents and young children is bilingual--the parents speaking in Korean, and the children in English. This situation becomes increasingly complicated as the offspring become adolescents. For, when these children are experiencing relatively serious problems, i.e. identity crises, dating, sexuality problems, etc., the parent and the child cannot communicate in depth on serious issues because the level of their communication--that being a simple vocabulary and simple sentences--is inadequate for the complexity of the problem.

Sometimes, however, a language problem is more serious for school-age children who moved to the United States with their parents (Yu, 1983). Many of these children grow up in an intellectual vacuum, forming a lost generation that has failed to develop a positive self-identity with either the Korean or American culture (Yu, 1983). One reason for this cultural vacuum is that during the period when these children are achieving fluency in English they have severely limited reading opportunities. The parents cannot assist them in reading English, and

the children themselves are unable to ready any of the Korean books in the household since they are not adequately versed in the language.

Every relationship within the family suffers as various individuals undergo the push-and-pull period of assimilation. Early problems may center around value conflicts between parents and children (Choi, 1982 & Yu, 1983). While the parents retain the values of Korea, the children are rapidly assimilating the values of American system. And according to Choi (1982), the conflict over traditional parental authority and discipline seems to heighten during adolescence. Besides conflict between parents and children, sometimes marital conflict arises during the assimilative process (Yu, 1983; & Kim, 1982). Even after achieving a high level of assimilation into the American lifestyle and a relatively improved degree of opportunity, the immigrants confront feelings of social isolation, loneliness, and for the elderly especially, discrimination (Hurh, 1977). Based on Hong's (1982) practical survey, juvenile and other crimes are the most serious problems concerning the Los Angeles-Korean community, followed by problems with employment and concerns about the quality of public schools. Alcoholism, street gangs, lack of day-care, and social services are other areas of concern. Furthermore, conflicts within the family, particularly between husband and wife and between parents and their younger children, also attract considerable attention.

Ethnicity and Aging

Although many studies on the relationship between ethnicity, aging, and psychological stress have been done recently, scholars have various opinions regarding how minority status, culture, and ethnicity complicate and/or instigate psychological problems. Findings documented in a variety of community

surveys (Dohrenwend, 1970; Fried, 1975; & Kessler, 1979) suggest that minorities are likely to have more social stress than the majority. Minorities are not only exposed to a greater number of stresses, but they also have weak psychological and social resources for coping with stress (Kessler & Clearly, 1980). They also experience significantly more stressful events because they have fewer resources for dealing with stress (Markides, 1986).

Considering the combined effects of minority status and age on psychological stress, Jackson (1980) postulates a double jeopardy hypothesis. Since the minority aged are systematically excluded from access to social and economic opportunities, they must bear social, economic, and psychological burdens arising out of ethnic differences in addition to those applied by the age stratification system of the society (Markides, 1986).

Psychological health has been shown to be related to the general areas of life satisfaction, morale, and psychological well-being (Dowd & Bengston, 1978; & Markides, 1983). Thus, discrimination and exclusion are thought to be important contributors to the emotional problems of minorities.

The acculturation process also contributes to social stress. New immigrants with different cultural backgrounds may well experience culture shock, a factor which increases psychological stress. For example, early studies from New York State (Malzberb, 1969), Chicago (Faris & Dunham, 1939), New Haven (Roberts & Myers , 1954), and Canada (Malzberg, 1964) found that the foreign-born were overrepresented in mental hospital admissions. Greater psychopathology among immigrants may be partially the result of their desperate attempts to adapt to an alien and often hostile society or to the lack of understanding shown to those who do not speak English.

In relation to migration perspective, Korte (1981) examined life satisfaction and morale of elderly members of immigrant groups. However, whether the

emphasis focuses on migration and acculturative stress or on minority status and discrimination, the theoretical perspective is to understand the mental health and psychological well-being of the elderly in ethnic minority groups. Concentrating on the social stress perspective emphasizes the negative effects of being an ethnic minority.

Mostwin's (1979) study showed that the need to preserve one's minority cultural heritage was considered one of the symptoms of the need for survival of an elderly ethnic person. Kii (1984) illustrated that minorities are willing and/or compelled to live in ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown and Little Tokyo, for reasons of economic necessity as well as to promote their psycho-emotional survival. Other minority research, including Moore's (1971), suggests that all minorities develop variant subcultures against the hostile major culture because of their special history and collective experience; sheer pragmatics dictate that these variants are subordinate to the macro-culture. According to Moore, these subcultures will also espouse "value sets" (e.g., family support systems) of significance to aging. But, her findings imply that the value sets, which are characteristic of minorities, are the result of functional or instrumental responses to socioeconomic deprivation and that when these value sets are threatened, the minority aged are likely to feel increased psychological stress. In a society with radically different norms from those to which one has become accustomed, one may feel inner stress to "keep up" with the times, and at the worst, one may feel alienated from the new values apparently espoused by the main society and the young.

Some studies have examined life-satisfaction and well-being among the minority elders. Results from the San Diego cross-cultural studies on Asian minority elders (Cheng, 1978; Ishizuka, 1978; & Peterson, 1978) showed that the minority aged recognized both positive and negative aspects of their new

lifestyle. While the positive viewpoint focused on better economic and housing conditions, the negative new focused on the breakdown of traditional values, the younger generations becoming too Americanized, and on the increasing lack of respect for older people.

The discrepancy between their psychological conflicts with the larger society and the relatively smoother acculturation of succeeding generations as well as the secondary conflicts which result between generations as a result of this discrepancy are the key problems of the minority aged. When they cannot find a psycho-emotional niche for their spiritual stability and they realize that the situation cannot be altered, the minority aged feel anger, frustration, and finally alienation (Markides, 1986).

Elderly Korean Americans

Background of the Elderly Korean Americans

The Korean race originated from the Tungs and the Korean culture has its origins in farming in the area of the monsoon in Eastern Asia. As a traditionally agricultural society, Korea has emphasized the tradition and order of family. Thus, throughout the centuries, Koreans have had a strong sense of family loyalty. They can sacrifice themselves for their family members or for the honor of their family even when they cannot do likewise for their country (Lee, 1977). While Western people are born to independent family units in society, Koreans are born into dependent on extended family units. Thus, Koreans speak of "our home" and "our father", while Western people say "my home" and "my father" (Lee, 1977).

Korean traditional values are based primarily on the Confucian system of ethics introduced to the peninsula from China during the Three Kingdom period

which ranges from 57 B.C. to A.D. 668 (Park, 1975). For Koreans, Confucianism is not a religion but an ethic or practical morals (Youn, 1987). Ancestor worship is at the heart of Confucianism, and it has remained a national practice in Korea throughout its history. A recent survey in Korea showed that 72.2% of Koreans still believed that ancestor worship should be done and that it is their duty (Youn, 1987). Also, fundamental to the Confucian philosophy is the notion that a good life depends upon a knowledge and observance of appropriate interpersonal relationships. These relationships are between (1) parents and child, (2) king and minister, (3) husband and wife, (4) older and younger brother, and (5) friend and friend (Kwon, 1978).

Thus, the Korean's family-oriented ethic is also inherited from Confucianism. Koreans believe that, since parents do everything to rear their children well and try to educate them as best as they can, parents deserve a position of respect. Thus, to an appreciable extend, the society perceives growing old as a blessing, as a period of life when the elders can sit back and enjoy the fruit of their labor while the members of their family seek their advice on important issues and in making decisions. Since the aged have experienced, they symbolize wisdom. Typically, the eldest son and his immediate family continue to live at home and voluntarily subjugate themselves to the head as tribute to this elder.

Traditionally, the obligation to care for aged parents in Korea was beyond questioning; it was a moral responsibility of their grown-up children. Korean practices, strongly influenced by the Confucian ethic of "filial piety," required that in accordance with filial devotion and obedience children care for their aged parents at home (Choi, 1964). Neglect of one's parents was considered unethical and immoral, and filial piety was the core of morality as a whole (Youn, 1987).

Korean Elderly in the United States

The population expansion of Korean communities in the United States has been enhanced by an immigration largely resultant from the relaxation of the Immigration Laws of 1965. According to the 1980 U.S. Census (PC-1-B1, 1983), a total of 354,593 Koreans reside in the United States, of whom 14,616 or 4.1% are aged 60 years and older. The recently arrived elderly were brought into the country by their children who had themselves come here earlier seeking better opportunities than were available to them at home (Kwon, 1978). However immigration created unique problems for the Korean elderly (Koh & Bell, 1987; & Kiefer, et al., 1985).

Some studies have focused on the adaptation problems experienced by elderly Korean Americans. Kwon (1978), for example, summarized these reasons as being responsible for the Korean elderly's failures to adapt: (1) a total absence of cultural orientation in the United States which creates confusion and isolation for the elderly and shattered expectations for dependency on their children, who are quickly influenced by the American culture's emphasis on independence and the nuclear family system; (2) a language barrier which blocks their reaching out to the larger community in time of desperate need; (3) an inability by their children, who are faced with multiple problems of their own and are living at the marginal boundaries of other ethnic communities, to help them; and (4) a lack of community resources to provide services for the Korean elderly.

Koh and Bell (1987) identified six major problems by Korean elderly, aged 60 and over, residing in the New York City area. They were in the rank order of

their seriousness: lack of proficiency in the English language, health conditions, loneliness, transportation, income, and housing.

Kiefer et al.'s (1985) survey, which measured the adaptation of Korean elderly living in the San Francisco Bay area, showed that Korean-born elderly suffer several years of severe psychosocial stress after emigrating to America. According to this study, those persons who were at greatest risk for difficult in psychosocial adaptation were those who had little education, had arrived in the United States recently, and who lived alone.

Koh and Bell (1987) studied the residence patterns of elderly Korean Americans. They identified that elderly Korean parents were able to maintain contact with at least one adult child. Adult children helped parents primarily with financial aid, transportation, housing, health care, and emotional support. However, elderly Korean Americans have strongly expressed preferences for residing apart from their adult children (Koh & Bell, 1987; & Park, 1987). Kiefer et al. and Koh and Bell explained the reason for this preference was that elders living in two-and three-generation households often had problems with overcrowding, over-work, and strained intra-family relationships.

In addition, Whang (1987) mentioned that historically Korean elderly are willing to sacrifice and to give love to their children. Even though parents generally expect their sacrifices to be repaid by their children when parents themselves are aged, they also prepare themselves not to expect any return from their offspring. Her study also showed that those elderly who were living with a spouse and children and those receiving more emotional help from family members perceived less stress in their life. Kiefer et al. (1985) also found that those who lived alone or only with a spouse tended to exhibit less positive moral and a less positive self-concept than those who lived with adult children's families. Finally, despite the fact that the Korean elderly in Whang's sample

experienced generally low levels of stress, the stresses of loneliness, helplessness, uselessness, and boredom suffered by the Korean elderly are serious (Kiefer et al., 1985).

Summary

Even though the phenomenon of alienation is cited as typical of modern man's predicament, the concept, such as alienation as separation from God or from oneself, is far from new. Alienation has been used by some philosophers, such as Hegel and Karl Marx, the latter broadening the term to describe the estrangement of the worker from his work and his society in the wake of industrialization. Continuing in this vein, Durkheim developed the notion of "anomie" to emphasize what he thought of as a deplorable condition characterized by the rampant individualism and the disintegration of traditional society and shared values. Recently alienation began to be seen as a psycho-social fact, thus raising many studies on the causes and consequences of alienation, its relationship with modern society, and its ultimate implication in society. Since separation was regarded as a main cause of alienation, such phenomena as the loss of familiar objects, separation from other people, and dissociation from cultural norms and values may increase psychological stress of dispossessed people.

Immigrants suffer a particular set of adjustment problems as they move from one society to another; problems of social and psychological adjustment, such as cultural differences racial discrimination, language barrier, and family crises, are early barriers to the immigrant's successful adjustment.

Among the affected variables of adjustment problems which may cause different levels of adjustment, we may cite community cohesiveness, the relative

ethnic heterogeneity of a community, gender, age, level of education, length of residence, living status, economic problems, and language facility.

Korean Americans face adjustment problems in necessary and basic areas of functioning, such as language barriers, which they believe may cause them to experience some disadvantages in employment and cause them to be isolated from the main society. Sometimes language problems incur communication problems between generations. The loss of self-identity that is already a factor in immigration is further exacerbated by value conflicts between generations and change of respective roles in the family.

Many studies on the relationship between minority status, culture, and psychological problems showed that minorities are likely to have more social and psychological stress than the majority. In addition, minority aged are excluded from access to social and economic opportunity, thereby leading to severe psychological problems. The feelings of discrimination and exclusion are important contributors to the emotional problems of minorities. In order to be free from psychological stress and to preserve their cultural heritage, minorities often develop a variant subculture--with its own value sets, thereby pursuing a sense of belonging. Among the main problems of immigrants are the breakdown of traditional values, the discrepancy and conflict between their psychological stress about the larger society and the acculturation of their succeeding generation, and intra-family conflicts, all of which raise key problems, such as anger, frustration, and alienation.

Korea has traditionally been an agricultural society which respects the order of family and society. Influenced by Confucianism which emphasizes appropriate interpersonal relationships, Koreans show strong loyalties for family. Thus, Korean aged receive special consideration from all others. Because of their accumulated experiences and their past effort for their children,

parents in this tradition are justified in expecting filial piety from their children and the young.

The recently arrived elderly Koreans are followers of their children. Since they may totally lack cultural orientation and have a different view of life from that of the younger generation, their confusion, isolation, and depression are severe. And daily, practical problems such as the language barrier, further erode their sense of self and complicate their feelings of isolation. Besides these conflicts, residence, lack of economic independence, and community resources may affect their psychological morale. Feeling lonely, helpless, useless, and bored, alienation is a serious threat to this group.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology of this study, presenting the research design and detailing the population and sampling. The bi-level process of information gathering--utilizing Dean's Alienation Scale (1961) and subsequent indepth interviews--is also discussed. A pilot study using this bi-level process is presented for further clarification. Finally, the procedures for data collection and the plan for statistical analyses are reviewed.

Research Design

This descriptive study utilizes both objective data collection and case study approaches to investigate the perceptions and experiences of alienation among elderly Korean Americans. The objective data collection describes the relationships between the dependent variables of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, and total alienation and the independent variables of place of residence, gender, age, level of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2. Multiple regression was used to find out which of the independent variable contribute the most to prediction of each dependent variable.

The case studies attempt to capture the subjects' experiences of feeling alienated. This part of the study was conducted by exploratory, in-depth

interviews, the purpose of which is to ascertain those situations in which elderly Korean Americans feel alienated. Situations in which the subjects experience alienation after immigration to the United States were categorized based on reviews of these interviews and presented with frequency data for each category.

Population and Sampling

Three rationales entered into the selection of the sample for this study.

1. The age of 60 was selected as the cut-off point for being considered as elderly since in the traditional Korean family this birthday is a significant event in one's life. Hwan gap, or the 60th birthday, is the day when one has completed one's zodiacal cycle. Furthermore, according to Confucianism, this age is understood as the age at which one finally can understand life and attain wisdom (Whang, 1987).

2. To study the alienation experience of an immigrant population, that population should have sufficient time to develop any feelings of alienation. Therefore, the subjects in this sample were limited to those who have lived at least one year in their new country. According to Hurh's (1977) study, the initial, several-month period after the immigrants arrive in the United States is the excitement phase. "This period is characterized by (1) a set of composite feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment that the immigrants have finally 'made it' safely to the country they had dreamed of, and (2) excitement about reunion with their families, relatives, and friends, and enjoyment of the new surroundings, especially material affluence and comfort. However, these feelings are normally short-lived and will followed by a period of 'exigency' generally within the first year of adaptation. The immigrants' dreams begin to

fade when they are confronted with the harsh reality of language barriers, unemployment, social isolation, and culture shock" (p. 47).

3. Period of residence and acclimatization to the new culture is also an important consideration in assessing feelings of alienation by immigrants. For example, persons who have lived for a long time in the United States are already so assimilated that they may feel a much lower level of alienation than those who have recently arrived. Thus, to maintain homogeneity of the subjects, length of residence ought to be limited. For the purposes of the present study, the maximum length of residence is limited to 15 yeas.

Therefore, the population for this study is defined as those Korean elderly aged 60 or older, who have immigrated to the United States and have been in residence at least one year but not more than 15 years.

To compare the level of alienation between different types of place of residences, the sample will include both subjects residing in Los Angeles, California, and in the state of Oklahoma. Los Angeles has the largest number of Korean immigrants in the United States and has an ethnic ghetto, Koreatown. There are 17 Korean-American senior citizens' associations in Los Angeles. Thus, we may expect a lesser level of alienation from the people who live in Los Angeles than from those who live in smaller cities. Oklahoma has no Koreatown and has significantly fewer Korean immigrants than Los Angeles has; Oklahoma has been selected as a prototypical site where the sample lives in dispersed, nuclear housing within a larger population. Because of the characteristics of this study, especially the case study method, random selection from the whole of the United States is untenable.

The total elderly Korean American population in the United States aged 60 years or older was estimated at 21,000 in 1984 (Koh & Bell, 1987). According to the 1980 U.S. Census (PC80-1-A6, 1982), Los Angeles had a total

population of 2,476 elderly Korean Americans aged 60 or older, and the state of Oklahoma (PC80-1-A38, 1982) had a total of 46 persons from this same grouping. However, since 1980, the number of Korean immigrants has increased. According to the 1987 estimation of Korean Community Association in the area of Los Angeles and of the state of Oklahoma, the total of elderly Korean Americans who are 60 or older, are 22,000 and 200, respectively. Even though there is no information in the census regarding the length of residence in the United States for these people, this census was conducted approximately one year before the present study was initiated, thus we can safely conjecture subjects have lived in this country at least one year. Furthermore, since the majority of Korean immigrants have come to the United States since 1976 (Yu, 1983), the number of persons who have lived in the United States more than 15 years is likely to be small.

As to sample size, aiming at a power of .80, $\alpha = .01$, minimum effect size R=.5, and k=7 required at least 67 subjects. The sampling procedure utilized a non-random method. The subjects in Los Angeles were chosen primarily on the basis of their accessibility to the researcher. They were recruited from three Korean-American senior citizens' associations, five churches, eleven elderly apartments, private homes, a hotel, and Kim's Mill.* Ultimately, a sample of 86 was attained in Los Angeles. The subjects in Oklahoma were recruited from Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and Stillwater, where the interviewer visited two churches, two elderly apartment complexes, and private homes. The subjects in Oklahoma were selected non-randomly from each major city's Korean

*Kim's Mill is a place that makes many kinds of rice cakes, a staple Korean food. The owner provides some rooms free of charge for the elderly to socialize in. Many Korean elderly visit that building and play games or chat there. Almost all of them have nothing to do at home and are lonely.

Association Directory, membership directories of Korean churches, and respondents' friends. Finally, a sample of 51 was obtained in Oklahoma: 28 from Oklahoma City, 22 from Tulsa, and 1 from Stillwater. Thus the total number of subjects was 137. These subjects varied across the place of residence (Los Angeles and Oklahoma), gender (male and female), age (from 60 to 82), years of education (from 0 to 20), time in the U.S. (from one year to 15 years), living arrangement 1 (living with spouse or without spouse), and living arrangement 2 (living with children or without children). Table I shows a detailed description of characteristics of the subjects.

Instruments

Dean's Alienation Scale

Dwight Dean (1961) developed an alienation scale which consists of 24 Likert-type items, classified a priori into three subscales: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. To construct scales for measuring each component, Dean began with a universe of 139 statements which he had either gleaned from the literature on alienation, discovered through over 70 interviews, or specially constructed. These statements were then judged and categorized into one of the three subscales of powerlessness, normlessness, or social isolation. For an item to be retained, at least 5 of 7 judges (who were instructors and assistants in the Department of Sociology at Ohio State University) had to be in agreement, with no judge placing the item in more than one category. The resulting measure of alienation consisted of 9 items of powerlessness, 6 items of normlessness, and 9 items of social isolation.

TABLE I

DESCRIPTION OF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS

		Male (N=57)		Female (N=80)	
		n	%	n	%
Residence	Los Angeles	39	28.47	47	34.30
	Oklahoma	18	13.14	33	24.09
Age	60	3	2.19	4	2.92
	61	2	1.46	5	3.65
	62	3	2.69	7	5.11
	63	1	0.73	5	3.65
	64	2	1.46	4	2.92
	65	4	2.92	3	2.19
	66	2	1.46	5	3.65
	67	1	0.73	6	4.38
	68	4	2.92	5	3.65
	69	8	5.84	9	6.57
	70	6	4.38	5	3.65
	71	5	3.65	3	2.19
	72	4	2.92	3	2.19
	73	3	2.19	2	1.46
	74	2	1.46	3	2.19
	75	0	0.00	4	2.92
	76	2	1.46	4	2.92
	77	1	0.73	1	0.73
	78	2	1.46	1	0.73
	79	1	0.73	0	0.00
	82	1	0.73	1	0.73
Education	0	3	2.19	13	9.49
	3	0	0.00	1	0.73
	6	11	8.03	36	26.28
	7	1	0.73	1	0.73
	8	2	1.46	0	0.00
	9	1	0.73	6	4.38
	10	3	2.19	11	8.03
	11	12	8.76	7	5.11
	12	2	1.46	1	0.73
	13	0	0.00	3	2.19
	14	5	3.65	1	0.73
	15	10	7.30	0	0.00

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

		Male (N=57) n	%	Female (N=80) n	%
	16	2	1.46	0	0.00
	17	1	0.73	0	0.00
	18	2	1.46	0	0.00
	19	1	0.73	0	0.00
	20	1	0.73	0	0.00
Time in the U.S.	1	11	8.03	8	5.84
	2	7	5.11	5	3.65
	3	4	2.92	9	6.57
	4	3	2.19	5	3.65
	5	4	2.92	7	5.11
	6	2	1.46	3	2.19
	7	5	3.65	9	6.57
	8	4	2.92	2	1.46
	9	3	2.19	7	5.11
	10	3	2.19	10	7.30
	11	0	0.00	5	3.65
	12	2	1.46	2	1.46
	13	2	1.46	5	3.65
	14	5	3.65	1	0.73
	15	2	1.46	2	1.46

Living Arrangement	Without Children n	%	With Children n	%	n	%
Without Spouse	30	21.90	26	18.98	56	40.88
With Spouse	55	40.14	26	18.98	81	59.12
	85	62.04	52	37.96		

N = 137

Dean (1961) found the split-test reliabilities to be .78 for powerlessness, .73 for normlessness, .84 for social isolation, and .78 for the test as a whole. Intercorrelations of the subscales were .67 between powerlessness and normlessness, .54 between powerlessness and social isolation, and .41 between normlessness and social isolation. Correlations of subscales and the test as a whole were .90 for powerlessness, .80 for normlessness, and .75 for social isolation. Dean interpreted that these results were feasible to consider the subscales as belonging to the same general concept, but that there appeared to be enough independence among the subscales to warrant treating them as independent variables. Simmons (1966) found the intercorrelations to be .43 between powerlessness and normlessness, .53 between powerlessness and social isolation, and .33 between normlessness and social isolation.

Dodder (1969), using a sample of 201 Kansas housewives, performed a factor analysis on the scale. Dodder's factor analysis which tested Dean's assumption of independence of subscales, yielded eight factors. All eight factors loaded on one second order factor, leading Dodder to suggest that Dean was indeed measuring alienation, although not quite in the manner Dean had hypothesized.

Hensley, Hensley, and Munro (1975) performed test-retest reliability for each item seven weeks after the first administration of the test. Their results showed that the scale as a whole had a reliability of .80, which indicated that Dean's scale, whatever it measures, did so with some consistency. However, their factor analysis, which also had eight factors, revealed that the three subscales did not appear to correspond to actual responses. The total eight factors account for only about a third of the variance in the correlation matrix, with the rest not considered. Furthermore, second-order factoring discovered

that Dean's scale appeared to be multidimensional, at least among college students.

Dean (1961) investigated the relationship between Dean's alienation scale and Adorno's "Authoritarianism" scale. The correlation coefficient between authoritarianism and powerlessness was .37, between authoritarianism and normlessness was .33, between authoritarianism and social isolation was .23, and between authoritarianism and alienation was .26. Dean suggested that the significant but low orders of correlation indicated an association of the two variables without identify.

Many attempts have been made to establish construct validity by correlating many factors with Dean's Alienation Scale. For example, using only the normlessness subscale to test a hypothesis that Catholic college women will exhibit a lower rate of anomie, or normlessness, than will Protestant college women, Dean and Reeves (1962) found highly significant differences between Catholic and Protestant women: with sex, age, and educational levels held constant, the means were 3.77 for Catholics and 8.63 for Protestants, with the standard deviations being 3.50 and 3.26, respectively. In addition, Dean and Lewis (1978) found a significant correlation between alienation and emotional maturity: for men, the correlations with emotional maturity were -.368, for powerlessness, -.304 for normlessness, and -.208 for social isolation; for women, the correlations were -.493 for powerlessness, -.301 for normlessness, and -.318 for social isolation.

Dean (1961) provides us with the earliest data using his test. As can be seen in Table II, significant, albeit low order, correlations occur for alienation and occupational, educational, income, age, and community differences. Nightingale and Toulouse (1978) looking at cultural differences between French and English-speaking Canadians in the work place, found alienation

TABLE II

BACKGROUND FACTORS--ALIENATION CORRELATIONS

	Occupation	Education	Income	Age	Community
Powerlessness	-.20**	-.22**	-.26**	.14**	-.10*
Normlessness	-.21**	-.18**	-.14**	.13**	-.10*
Social Isolation	-.07**	-.11**	-.13**	-.03	-.06
Alienation	-.19**	-.21**	-.23**	.12**	-.10*

N = 384

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

Source: Dean, 1961, p. 757.

(measured with a modified version of Dean's scale) to be highly correlated with (1) socio-demographic characteristics of the individual, (2) the quality and nature of interpersonal relationships, and (3) organizational structures, as expected. The result showed that for the total sample, R=.65 (R=.70 for the French-Canadian sample, and R=.66 for the English-Canadian sample). Bean, Bonjean, and Burton (1973), looking at intergenerational occupational mobility, found an inverse relationship between alienation, as measured by Dean's test, and the occupational status at origin, a significant inverse relation with occupational status at destination, plus a significant "over-riding" effect of the status at destination. In a subsequent study, Dean found that while his scale predicted a vote against a school levy, it was a less powerful predictor than age and socioeconomic status.

Pilot Study

Throughout July 1987, individual, intensive, semistructured interviews were held with 8 elderly Korean Americans. The initial major questions for these interviews were designed to investigate the phenomenon of psychological conflict with their new American lifestyles.

This sample consisted of 6 women, aged 64 to 75 years, and 2 men, aged 70 and 79 years. Two of the women earned junior college degrees in Korea, while the remaining four women had completed elementary school in Korea. One man earned a high school diploma while the other had an elementary education in Korea. Three of the women live alone in elderly apartment complexes, while the other five elderly people live with their children's families.

This pilot study showed that the major stress facing elderly Korean immigrants seemed to come from psychological problems, such as feelings of

loneliness, alienation, frustration, and rootlessness. This finding was contrast with those previous researchers (Koh & Bell, 1987; & Choi, 1982) who had indicated that the most serious problem among this group was language difficulty. This sample indicated that among these elderly Korean Americans those who were more educated or who lived alone experienced more persistent and stronger feelings of alienation than those who were either less educated or who live with their children's families. Therefore, research to discover the degree of alienation they feel as immigrants and the types of situations that promote these feelings of alienation is a necessary ingredient to better understand and help these strangers to adapt to their new environment.

Procedure

After Dean's Alienation Scale was translated into Korean (Appendix B), a panel of three bilingual experts in the fields of linguistics, sociology, and psychology reviewed the translation of content of the questionnaire for consistency of meaning from English to Korean. Then, the selected subjects were contacted and apprised of the purpose and procedure of the study. 148 elderly were contacted, but nine of them refused to participate, for personal reasons, and two of them had lived in Paraguay for seven years before they immigrated to the United States. Appointments for an interview were made with the 137 subjects who agreed to participate.

All interviews were conducted by the experimenter, mainly at the elderly people's residences or at church offices. Every interview except one was managed in Korean. One elderly man talked in English because he wanted to practice speaking English. An average interview took about one and a half hours, with approximately 30 minutes to complete Dean's Alienation Scale and

remaining hour devoted to an in-depth interview concentrating on each subject's experience of alienation in the United States.

Before conducting the interview, subjects had enough time to establish a rapport with the interviewer that would allow them to talk honestly and freely about their alienation experiences. The interviewer presented Dean's Alienation Scale by verbalizing each question since some of the subjects had problems in reading and understanding the questionnaire. The questionnaire sheet of Dean's Alienation Scale was filled out by interviewer to reflect the subject's responses. In the second part, interviewees were asked to describe in their own words, their experience of alienation in as much detail as possible (further information on questions that initiate discussion is provided in Appendix C). When subjects had no objections, interviews were tape recorded. Otherwise (in about half of the cases) written notes were made by the interviewer.

Data Process and Analysis

The results of this study require analyses of the scores of Dean's Alienation Scale and of the contents of interview. On Dean's Alienation Scale, subjects indicated their level of agreement with 24 items in which each response option has the following numeric value: SA (strongly agree) = 4, A (agree) = 3, NO (no opinion or don't know) or U (uncertain) = 2, D (disagree) = 1, and SD (strongly disagree) = 0. Statements 5, 8, 11, 14, and 22 on the Dean's Alienation Scale are reversed items, so the numeric value for the response options are also reversed, i.e., SA=0, A=1, NO or U=2, D=3, and SD=4. The range on the total score for the Dean's Alienation Scale is 0 (lowest alienation) to 96 (highest alienation); normlessness, 0 to 24; powerlessness

and social isolation, 0 to 36. Simultaneous regression was used to analyze all data. The dependent variables are powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, and total alienation, while the independent variables are place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2.

In the second part of the study, tape recordings or notes taken of subjects' statements about their alienation experience were examined. After rereading notes and listening to the recorded interviews, the sources of the alienation experience were categorized. The frequency of occurrence of each source of alienation was then counted. Narrative examples of each category will be presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two major sections. In the first section, the results of the statistical analysis utilized to test the hypotheses are presented along with descriptive statistics and with the Pearson correlation coefficients between each variable and every other variable. The major purpose of this part of the data analysis is to determine if any or all of the independent variables--place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2--can account for a significant portion of the variance in the scores of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, and total alienation for the subjects. Each hypothesis was tested using multiple regression analysis. Each hypothesis test was conducted at the .01 level to reduce the experiment-wise Type I error rate (Kirk, 1984). The .01 level was used instead of the .05 level because of the large number of tests conducted.

The purpose of the second section is to identify those kinds of situations in which the subjects actually felt alienated. Situations in which the subjects experienced alienation are categorized with frequency data and some specific examples from each category are presented.

Descriptive Statistics

Mean, standard deviation, and range for each dependent variable are presented in Table III. The possible range of scores of the powerlessness and social isolation was between 0 and 36, normlessness was 0 and 24, and total alienation was 0 and 96.

Some descriptive statistics, for subgroups divided according to place of residence, gender, living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 are presented in Tables IV, V, VI, and VII.

Bivariate Correlation Coefficients

As an initial step in investigating the relationship between the seven independent variables and the four dependent variables, the Pearson correlation coefficients were computed. The correlation coefficients and their levels of significance are presented in Table VIII.

Intercorrelations between all three subscales, and each subscale with the total alienation scale were significant at the .01 level. Intercorrelations between subscales ranged from .39 to .65. Subscales correlations with the total alienation score ranged from .76 to .89.

The level of powerlessness, and total alienation were each significantly correlated with place of residence, age, and time in the U.S. Gender, years of education, living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 were not significantly correlated with powerlessness, and total alienation. This finding indicates that those elderly who live in Oklahoma, who are older, and who have lived in the United States a shorter period of time tend to experience more powerlessness, and more total alienation than those elderly who live in Los Angeles, who are younger, and who have lived in the United States longer.

TABLE III

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Mean	S.D.	Range
Powerlessness	22.080	5.018	8 - 32
Normlessness	14.380	3.744	4 - 24
Social Isolation	19.788	5.456	9 - 33
Alienation	56.307	11.903	29 - 83

N = 137

TABLE IV

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE PLACE OF RESIDENCY

	MEAN		S.D.		RANGE	
	LA	OK	LA	OK	LA	OK
Powerlessness	20.744	24.333	4.528	5.039	11-31	8-32
Normlessness	13.802	15.353	3.521	3.939	6-20	4-24
Social Isolation	18.047	22.725	4.743	5.359	9-27	13-33
Alienation	52.709	62.373	10.586	11.622	31-74	29-83

N = 86 (Los Angeles)
N = 51 (Oklahoma)

TABLE V

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE GENDER

	MEAN		S.D.		RANGE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Powerlessness	21.719	22.338	4.843	5.153	12-31	8-32
Normlessness	13.842	14.763	3.442	3.921	6-20	4-24
Social Isolation	20.281	19.438	5.182	5.650	10-29	9-33
Alienation	55.842	56.638	10.902	12.625	31-74	29-83

N = 57 (Male)
N = 80 (Female)

TABLE VI

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE LIVING ARRANGEMENT 1

	MEAN		S.D.		RANGE	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
Powerlessness	21.457	22.982	4.914	5.072	8-30	11-32
Normlessness	14.037	14.875	3.455	4.108	4-20	6-24
Social Isolation	18.790	21.232	5.022	5.775	9-31	10-33
Alienation	54.407	59.054	10.856	12.882	29-76	33-83

N = 81 (With Spouse)
N = 56 (Without Spouse)

TABLE VII

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE LIVING ARRANGEMENT 2

	MEAN		S.D.		RANGE	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
Powerlessness	22.558	21.788	5.162	4.936	8-32	11-32
Normlessness	14.212	14.482	4.235	3.432	4-24	7-20
Social Isolation	21.192	18.929	5.115	5.509	11-31	9-33
Alienation	57.962	55.294	12.161	11.699	29-83	31-82

N = 52 (With Children)
N = 85 (Without Children)

TABLE VIII

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Power	Norm	Social	Alien	Resi	Gender	Age	Ed	Time	Liv1	Liv2
Power	1.000										
Norm	0.650*	1.000									
Social	0.587*	0.397*	1.000								
Alien	0.899*	0.765*	0.819*	1.000							
Resi	-0.347*	-0.201	-0.416*	-0.394*	1.000						
Gender	-0.061	-0.122	0.076	-0.033	0.099	1.000					
Age	0.243*	0.265*	0.271*	0.317*	0.091	0.136	1.000				
Ed	-0.051	-0.116	0.150	0.011	0.169	0.464*	0.189	1.000			
Time	-0.294*	-0.279*	-0.483*	-0.429*	0.266*	-0.111	-0.128	-0.092	1.000		
Liv1	-0.150	-0.110	-0.221*	-0.193	0.238*	0.370*	-0.178	0.215	0.155	1.000	
Liv2	0.075	-0.035	0.202	0.109	-0.238*	-0.050	-0.224*	-0.140	-0.231*	-0.145	1.000
	Power	Norm	Social	Alien	Resi	Gender	Age	Ed	Time	Liv1	Liv2

N = 137

*p < .01

The level of normlessness was significantly correlated with age and time in the U.S. but not with place of residence, gender, years of education, living arrangement 1, or living arrangement 2. This result indicates that those elderly who are older, and who have lived a shorter period in the United States tend to experience more normlessness than those elderly who are younger, and have lived in the United States longer.

The level of social isolation was correlated with place of residence, age, time in the U.S., and living arrangement 1 but not with gender, years of education, and living arrangement 2. This result indicated that those elderly who live in Oklahoma, who are older, who have lived in the United States a shorter period of time, and who live without their spouses tend to experience more social isolation than those elderly who live in Los Angeles, who are younger, who have lived in the United States longer, and who live with their spouses.

There were also statistically significant relationships between place of residence and time in the U.S. and living arrangement 2, between gender and years of education and living 1, between age and living arrangement 2, and between time in the U.S. and living arrangement 2.

Test of Research Hypotheses

Null Hypothesis One

This null hypothesis states that the multiple correlation between the level of powerlessness and place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 is equal to zero. Powerlessness was measured by Dean's Alienation Scale, questions number 2, 6, 9, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, and 23.

A simultaneous regression analysis of powerlessness on place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, living arrangement 2 resulted in a multiple R of .483, which is statistically significant ($F=5.617$, $df=7/129$, $p<.01$). This finding indicated that 23.4% ($R^2=.234$) of the variance in powerlessness could be accounted for by the set of independent variables. The estimated squared multiple R, adjusted to account for the number of subjects and variables (Cohen & Cohen, 1983) in population, was .192, which means 19.2% of the variance in powerlessness of population could be accounted for by the independent variables. Therefore, null hypothesis one was rejected. A summary of the regression analysis is provided in Table IX.

Because the multiple R was significant, semipartial correlations were calculated to identify the significance of the unique contribution of each predictor variable. As shown in Table X, the semipartial correlation coefficients of place of residence and age were statistically significant at the .01 level. Place of residence and age accounted for 8.2% and 5%, respectively, of the unique variance in powerlessness. The other variables had no statistically significant unique contribution to the variance of powerlessness.

Null Hypothesis Two

This null hypothesis states that the multiple correlation between the level of normlessness and place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 is equal to zero. Normlessness was measured by Dean's Alienation Scale, questions number 4, 7, 10, 12, 16, and 19.

TABLE IX

SUMMARY TABLE FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE LEVEL OF POWERLESSNESS

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Regression	799.824	7	114.261	5.617	.001
Residual	2624.292	129	20.343		
Total	3424.116	137			

N = 137 Multiple R: .483
Squared Multiple R: .234
Adjusted Squared Multiple R: .192

TABLE X

SEMIPARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF PREDICTIONS OF POWERLESSNESS

Source	B	sr	sr^2	p
Residence	-3.199	.287	.082	.001*
Gender	-.059	.048	.002	.534
Age	.250	.232	.050	.003*
Education	-.030	.024	.000	.754
Time	-.215	.164	.027	.035
Livi1	-.376	.032	.001	.678
Livi2	.045	.004	.000	.959

N = 137
*$p < .01$

A multiple R of .452 was obtained between normlessness and the set of independent variables which was statistically significant ($F=4.724$, $df=7/129$, $p<.01$). This finding indicated that 20.4% ($R^2=.204$) of the variance in normlessness could be accounted for by the set of independent variables. The estimated squared multiple R in population was .161, which means 16.1% of the variance in normlessness of population could be accounted for by the independent variables. Therefore, null hypothesis two was rejected. A summary of the regression analysis is provided in Table XI.

Only two of the variables, age and time in the U.S., were found to account for a significant portion of the variance in normlessness scores. This indicated that age and time in the U.S. account for 6.4% and 5.4%, respectively, of the variance in normlessness. The contributions of place of residence, gender, years of education, living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 were not significant at the .01 level. A summary of the semipartial correlation coefficient of normlessness is provided in Table XII.

Null Hypothesis Three

This null hypothesis states that the multiple correlation between the level of social isolation and place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 is equal to zero. Social isolation was measured by Dean's Alienation Scale, questions number 1, 3, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 22, and 24.

TABLE XI

SUMMARY TABLE FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE LEVEL OF NORMLESSNESS

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Regression	388.976	7	55.568	4.724	.001
Residual	1517.287	129	11.762		
Total	1906.263	137			

N = 137 Multiple R: .452
Squared Multiple R: .204
Adjusted Squared Multiple R: .161

TABLE XII

SEMIPARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF PREDICTIONS OF NORMLESSNESS

Source	B	sr	sr^2	p
Residence	-1.114	.134	.018	.091
Gender	-1.047	.114	.013	.150
Age	.203	.253	.064	.002*
Education	-.102	.109	.012	.168
Time	-.229	.234	.054	.003*
Livi1	.385	.044	.002	.576
Livi2	-.648	.077	.006	.330

N = 137
*$p < .01$

A multiple R of .66 was obtained between social isolation scores and the set of independent variables which was statistically significant ($F=14.243$, $df=7/129$, $p<.01$). This finding indicated that 43.6% ($R^2=.436$) of the variance in social isolation could be accounted for by the set of independent variables. The estimated squared multiple R in population was .405 which means 40.5% of the variance in social isolation of population could be accounted for by the set of independent variables. Therefore, null hypothesis three was rejected. A summary of the regression analysis is provided in Table XIII.

As shown in Table XIV, the semipartial correlation coefficient of place of residence, age, and time in the U.S. was statistically significant at the .01 level. This indicated that place of residence, age, and time in the U.S. accounted for 11.2%, 4.2%, and 6.9% in an order, of the variance in social isolation. The other variables had no statistically significant unique contribution to the variance of social isolation.

Null Hypothesis Four

This null hypothesis states that the multiple correlation between the level of total alienation and place of residence, gender, age, years of education, time in the U.S., living arrangement 1, and living arrangement 2 is equal to zero. Alienation was measured by Dean's Alienation Scale, questions number 1 - 24, which include powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation.

With all the scores included, a multiple R of .609 was obtained between alienation measured by the total scores and the set of independent variables, which was significant ($F=10.855$, $df=7/129$, $p<.01$). This finding indicated that 37.1% ($R^2=.371$) of the variance in alienation could be accounted for by the set of independent variables. The estimated squared multiple R in population was

TABLE XIII

SUMMARY TABLE FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Regression	1765.072	7	252.153	14.243	.001
Residual	2283.789	129	17.704		
Total	4048.861	137			

N = 137 Multiple R: .660
Squared Multiple R: .436
Adjusted Squared Multiple R: .405

TABLE XIV

SEMIPARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF PREDICTIONS OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

Source	B	sr	sr^2	p
Residence	-4.071	.335	.112	.001*
Gender	.345	.026	.001	.698
Age	.238	.204	.042	.003*
Education	.205	.150	.023	.024
Time	-.375	.263	.069	.001*
Livi1	-1.740	.136	.018	.041
Livi2	1.146	.093	.009	.162

N = 137
*p < .01

TABLE XV

SUMMARY TABLE FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE LEVEL OF ALIENATION

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Regression	7142.774	7	1020.396	10.855	.001
Residual	12126.350	129	94.003		
Total	19269.124	137			

N = 137 Multiple R: .609
Squared Multiple R: .371
Adjusted Squared Multiple R: .337

TABLE XVI

SEMIPARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF PREDICTIONS OF ALIENATION

Source	B	sr	sr^2	p
Residence	-8.235	.312	.097	.001*
Gender	-1.540	.053	.003	.453
Age	.715	.281	.079	.001*
Education	.072	.024	.001	.730
Time	-.816	.263	.069	.001*
Livi1	-.439	.052	.003	.461
Livi2	.575	.021	.000	.760

N = 137
*$p < .01$

.337, which means 33.7% of the variance in the alienation of this population could be accounted for by the set of independent variables. Therefore, null hypothesis four was rejected. A summary of the regression analysis is provided in Table XV.

As shown in Table XVI, the semipartial correlation coefficient of place of residence, age, and time in the U.S. was statistically significant at the .01 level. This indicated that place of residence, age, and time in U.S. accounted for 9.7%, 7.9%, and 6.9%, in an order, of the variance in total alienation. The other variables had no statistically significant unique contribution to the variance of alienation.

Analysis of Alienation Situation

This section presents the results of in-depth interviews with subjects about their alienation experiences. The sources of alienation experiences are categorized into five areas based on reviews of these interviews: language barrier, conflict with children, loneliness, transportation problems, and discrimination. Some elderly mentioned problems in two or more of these areas. The levels of alienation in each category vary according to the individual subject's situation. Similarly, the expressions of their experience of living in America varies, from saying "living in America is kind of like being in heaven" to saying "living in America is the same as living in a prison without bars". Along with a record of the experiences of those who claimed to feel no alienation, frequency data for each of the five sources of alienation as well as some examples of verbatim case testimony illustrating levels of alienation in each category are presented in this section.

No Report of Alienation

Six elderly expressed that they have never felt alienated while they have lived in the United States. Five of them live in Los Angeles, and one in Oklahoma. The three following cases illustrate their situations.

Case A: Mrs. K. is 69 years old, and lives in Los Angeles with her second husband. She lost her first husband when she was age 38 while living in Korea. She took care of her two sons by herself until they married. When she was 52 years old, she met her second husband who was the principal of a high school in Korea. After the husband's retirement, they both came to the U.S. in 1979 at the invitation of his second eldest son. They live in an elderly apartment complex* in downtown Los Angeles. They get more than one thousand dollars every month from the California State Department of Public Welfare, an amount which is even a little bit more than the husband's former salary in Korea. Mrs. K. said: "I don't feel any kind of alienation and I am happy to live in the U.S. Any dutiful son can't give the $575 to each parent regularly every month. That is the amount the government provides even though I don't do anything for this country. Also, my husband can speak English pretty well, and he can manage when I need to speak English. Because I live in downtown, I can go any place I want easily. Nowadays, I go to Korean Elderly Office every afternoon to practice Chinese calligraphy."

Case B: Mr. W., a 75-year-old man, has lived for seven years with his youngest daughter's family in Oklahoma. His wife died two years ago after coming to the U.S. Throughout their lives in Korea, Mr. and Mrs. W. suffered poor economic conditions. Their three married daughters live in Oklahoma. Mr.

* Elderly apartment complex is the apartment complex in which only the elderly can live.

W. perceived that his daughter's economic condition is really higher than he had ever experienced or expected in Korea. He was happy to see that and to live in this situation. He said: "I can't imagine that we have two cars, even one car is unimaginable." (Actually, he can't drive, the cars belong to his daughter.) After his wife died, he began to help his grandsons. He was satisfied with what he was doing for his daughter's family. He said: "I am taking care of two grandchildren who are 2 and 4 1/2 years old. I have even provided toilet training for the younger one. My daughter and her husband have two jobs, respectively. They work until 11:00 p.m. I do all the housework, including meal preparation. But, I don't complain, and I even feel happy because I can help my daughter. If I didn't take care of the grandchildren, my daughter would have to spend more than 500 dollars each month for babysitting. Whenever they feel sorry for me or express appreciation for what I do, I say, "My happiness is to see your life a success." Mr. W. even added that he had no time to feel alienated.

Case C: Mrs. L. is 65 years old and came to the U.S. in 1982 with her husband and children. She lives with her husband in Los Angeles. When she was in Korea, she lived in large family, with her grandmother-in-law, mother-in-law and father-in-law, brothers and sisters-in-law, and her own children in the same house. She not only worked hard for household but also was required to follow the older persons opinions in every aspect. She said: "that was not my real life in Korea. I feel a kind of real freedom in the U.S. Now I live with only my husband, and I have many friends in this elderly apartment complex. Why should I feel alienated?"

The Language Barrier

Even though the level of alienation of each individual's experience with language barrier is different, 69 out of 137 elderly mentioned that difficulty with English made them feel alienated. The four following cases illustrate this cause of alienation among Korean elderly.

Case A: Mrs. M. is a 68-year-old widow who lives with her daughter's family in Oklahoma. She said: "When everyone in the family watches T.V., suddenly everybody laughs out but me. I don't know what's going on and what the actors are saying. I feel alone. Sometimes family members talk together in English which I can't understand. Sometimes, I am even afraid that they are talking about my weaknesses. I feel I am an outsider in this family."

Case B: Mrs. K. is a 72-year-old widow who lives with her second son's family in Oklahoma. She had 13 years of education and was formerly a vice principal of an elementary school in Korea. Her son is a minister. Sometimes he invites his American friends to his home. Because Mrs. K. doesn't speak English, she never comes out but stays in her room until the guests leave. She said: "I don't like to show up with a dummy face to the Americans." When the guests are planning to stay all day long, her daughter-in-law takes Mrs. K. to a friend's home. She can have a good time with her friend while she stays there. However, she is very disappointed with her inability to speak English. She said: "I really regret I couldn't study English. I tried to study English many times, but it was useless. I feel I am too old now to study English. I feel powerless and lonely whenever I can't succeed in it."

Case C: Mrs. J. is 65 years old, and lives with her only son's family. Her son is a successful medical doctor in Oklahoma and her daughter-in-law is really nice to her. She lives in a nice house. However, she said: "I have

everything I want, but I have nothing. I have a mouth and ears, but I can't listen and speak English. Who will say I have a real mouth and ears? Whenever I meet Americans at my home or on the street, I feel lonely and nobody can help me. I sometimes scream in my back yard to release my loneliness."

Case D: Mrs. B. is 73 years old, and lives alone in an elderly apartment complex in Oklahoma at the time of the interview. After her husband died in Korea in 1975, she came to the U.S. and lived in her first son's home. However, her problems with the language barrier forced her to move from her son's home. Since she couldn't pronounce English correctly nor speak grammatically, her daughter-in-law complained that Grandmother's poor English would affect that of her grandchildren. Mrs. B. said: "I was at a loss as to what to say. because I had been feeling that this is America, the country of freedom and equality, I was shocked at my daughter-in-law's unamerican attitude. And furthermore, this kind of insult would be impossible to imagine in Korea. How can a daughter-in-law protest to her mother-in-law in such a matter! I felt I'd rather not have come to America. I would like to live in a country in which it is all right to speak Korean."

Conflict With Children

Sixty-two out of 137 elderly mentioned that they feel alienated when they have conflicts with children and/or grandchildren, or when they feel their children are less attentive than they expected. The following three cases illustrate this cause of alienation among Korean elderly.

Case A: Mrs. K. is a 68-year-old widow and has been in the U.S. for 10 years. She lives with her son's family. Her son and daughter-in-law are working in an American company. Mrs. K. has been taking care of two

grandchildren and has kept the house for the family. When the grandchildren were younger and couldn't speak English, they had a good time with their grandmother. However, since the grandchildren were in middle school, Mrs. K. has not often been happy with them. Mrs. K. said: "Whenever my grandson comes from school, he hugs the puppy first and he doesn't even say hello to me. I feel like a less important person than the puppy in this house. Even when I saw a long face on my grandson, and I asked what was wrong, he answered, 'nothing.' He seemed to be saying 'none of your business,' or 'you can't solve the problem'. I felt frustrated and alienated at those times."

Case B: Mr. P. is 70 years old and lives in Los Angeles with his wife. All of his four children live in the U.S. He said: "My children were full of initial of filial piety in Korea. They were really nice to me and my wife and they respected us. After coming to the United States, they are too Americanized in many ways. Even though they live in the same city, it is hard to see them. They don't visit us often, sometimes they don't even bother to call on the phone. I have come to understand that they are too busy to take care of us. Although I am trying to understand them, it is sad for me to feel alienated from my children. The saddest thing for me was that one of my sons said that something that was his business and that I didn't have to know. If we were in Korea, he could never talk to his father in that way."

Case C: Mrs. N. is a 72-year-old widow and lives with the second daughter's family in Tulsa at the time of interview. Mrs. N. has complained to her daughter and son-in-law about the way they are educating their daughter. Mrs. N. said: "They don't teach Korean to their daughter. My granddaughter doesn't speak Korean and doesn't know any Korean customs or etiquette. Whenever I ask my daughter or son-in-law to do something for my granddaughter, they don't follow my suggestion. They are even unable to

punish her when she is doing wrong. I feel alone and powerless when I have this kind of conflict with them." When Mrs. N. feels very bad in that home, she goes to her first daughter's house in New York. Then when she also has trouble there, she comes back to Tulsa. Mrs. N. also said that she would go back to Korea if she had a house to live in there.

Loneliness

Forty-eight of 137 elderly mentioned that living in America is too lonely. The following three cases illustrate this cause of alienation among Korean elderly.

Case A: Mrs. G. is a 73-year-old widow and lives alone in an elderly apartment complex. She has five married children in the United States, and they are all successful as businessmen and medical doctors. However, she wanted to live alone rather than to live with one of the children's family. Sometimes Mrs. G. feels she is imprisoned by a "wall." Mrs. G. said: "Every Sunday afternoon, my son drops me at the entrance of my apartment after church services. When I open the door alone, I feel chilly air coming from all directions. Suddenly, I feel isolated and feel I am the only person in the world. I feel I can handle the external problems, but the feeling of being alone, of being alienated from everything, is harder to take."

Case B: Mr. T. is 73 years old and has been in the U.S. for one year. His wife died three years ago in Korea. He is a successful retired businessman. As a boy, he grew up in a family which kept many old traditional Korean customs. When he grew old in Korea, he lived with his first son's family. Last year, his second son, who lives in Los Angeles wanted to take care of Mr. T. in the U.S. While Mr. T. stayed in this son's house, he had nothing to do. His son and

daughter-in-law leave every morning to work and even two-year-old grandson goes to a nursery every day. Because the house was in Santa Monica, it was hard for Mr. T. to make friends or to visit old friends who are in Los Angeles. Finally he decided to move out. He lives in a Korean hotel located in Koreatown in Los Angeles. Mr. T. said: "It is better to live in a hotel next to Elderly Korean Association Office than to live isolated in my son's house. However, I still don't have many things to do. Sometimes I feel lonely in the hotel. I often go to Kim's Mill to see many Korean elderly men and play chess and talk. I even tried to go to English school for Korean--not to learn English but to make friends. However, everything was useless. Now I plan to go back to Korea. It's hard to me to live in the U.S. with such a feeling of loneliness."

Case C: Mrs. Q. is a 69-year-old widow who lives alone in an elderly apartment complex in Tulsa. Before Mrs. Q. lived in the elderly apartment complex, she lived with her son's family. She took care of her grandchildren for about six years. After the grandchildren grew up, they moved to other cities to study. Then, Mrs. Q. felt that she was a useless person in that house because she has nothing to do there. So, Mrs. Q. decided to live in an elderly apartment complex. She has lived there for three years. Mrs. Q. feels lonely living by herself. However, Mrs. Q. said: "I don't want to go back to my son's house, either. I just wish God would take me away from this world soon."

Transportation Problems

Forty-six out of 137 elderly mentioned that transportation problems provoked feelings of alienation. The following three cases illustrate this cause of alienation among Korean elderly.

Case A: Mr. Y. is 78 years old and lives with his wife and his youngest unmarried son in Los Angeles. His two sons and their wives, as well as the youngest son have full-time jobs and some of them work at night also. Mr. Y. has been in the U.S. for 2 years. However, Mr. Y. can't drive and doesn't know how to take the bus. Whenever he needs to go somewhere, one of his sons or daughters-in-law, whoever has time to help him, takes him. Because Mr. Y. realizes everybody has little time to help him, he really hesitates to ask for any assistance. Mr. Y.'s youngest son is about to marry, and Mr. Y. and his wife will then move out into an elderly apartment complex. However, it is not easy to find a vacancy in an elderly apartment complex in Los Angeles. Mr. Y. said: "I should go to the Korean Elderly Association Office to get the information about elderly apartment complexes. But I have no feet to go there. I must wait for my sons to have time to take me. I wish I were young enough to learn how to drive. I feel I live in prison without bars."

Case B: Mrs. F. is a 67-year-old widow who lives with her son's family in Oklahoma. Mrs. F's son is a successful businessman and has a nice house in the outskirts of Tulsa. Mrs. F. said: "I live in a pretty nice house. I should be happy about my circumstances. However, there is always something unresolved in my heart. Because I can't drive and there is no bus line in my area, I can't go shopping when I want to , which is the best way for me to deal with stress. When I miss my friend and want to see her, I can only phone her. My daughter-in-law must drive me if I want to visit. When I feel bored at home, I try to take a walk around my village, but I must hurry to come back home and be careful not to get lost. Whenever I think about the small area in which I can move around, I feel kind of isolated."

Case C: Mrs. H. is 65 years old and lives alone at an elderly apartment complex in Oklahoma. She said: "My life is the same as that of a bird living all

day long in a cage. Even though my daughter's family lives in the same city, I can't see them when I want to because I can't drive. The only place I can go by myself is my friend's house in this same apartment complex. I am a bird with two wings which can't fly."

Discrimination

Twenty-three out of 137 elderly mentioned that a feeling of alienation comes when they have actually experienced being treated in a discriminatory manner, or have perceived being treated that way in this society. The following three cases illustrate this mode of alienation among Korean elderly.

Case A: Mrs. K. is a 71-year-old widow who lives alone in an elderly apartment complex in Los Angeles. Mrs. K. said: "I live on the 5th floor in an elderly apartment complex. One day I was locked out. I was too tired to go to the office which is on the first floor to get someone to open the door. So, I asked the next door neighbor if I could use his phone. He said bluntly, "I don't have a phone." He did have a phone but he refused to let me use it. I feel I was refused mainly because I was not a white American."

Case B: Mrs. L. is 60 years old and is working in a clothing factory as a seamstress. Mrs. L. said: "Whenever workers leave the factory, everybody is inspected. I have had many experiences where I was treated discriminatingly by the American inspector, especially in comparison to the way American workers are treated. The inspector usually takes a brief look at the American workers' bags. However, the inspector does a close examination of non-American workers' bags. The inspectors may know Korean workers in that factory have never made mistakes or never taken anything from there, but they seem to expect something from our bags. Sometimes they even open my tiny

coin bag. Do you think there is anything in that factory to take that would fit in my coin bag? They just do this because we are not Americans. How can I not feel alienated working in such a place?"

Case C: Mr. S. is 56 years old and lives in an elderly apartment complex. Mr. S. said: "The manager in my apartment complex is an American. Whenever I have problems in my house, I call him and explain what should be repaired. It usually takes a long time to get anything done, sometimes several days or weeks. I was angry when I found out that the manager helped American residents more quickly, especially when they had the same kind of problems as mine. I know many kind Americans, sometimes even more kind than Koreans. However, if I were an American, I might not get angry or be so sensitive to discrimination. Because I realize I am not an American, I feel more hypersensitive and alienated when I feel I am discriminated against."

Besides these sources of alienation, a total of seven elderly persons mentioned either poor health, poor economic situations, or hard work as sources of alienation.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the results of this study indicating the meaning and import of the findings. The first section provides a summary of the results, discussing the reasons for these results. It also points out the theoretical implications of the results on each of the independent variables and, in turn, discusses the relationships between these variables and dependent measures. Additionally, the findings of the depth-interviews are examined to further shed light on the question of alienation among this sample. The second section deals with practical implications of these findings with an eye to further usage by counselors, psychologists, and social workers working with immigrants. The third section provides recommendations, including both the limitations of this study and the suggestions for future research. Finally, the conclusion expresses some global concerns about this population and the risks they face.

Summary and Analysis of Statistical Data

Place of Residence

Of the seven independent variables included in this study, place of residence showed the strongest relationships to the levels of powerlessness,

social isolation, and total alienation. Within this group of subjects, those elderly who live in Oklahoma perceived more powerlessness, more social isolation, and more alienation than those elderly who live in Los Angeles. The most likely reason for this result is that Los Angeles has a large, well-developed, and cohesive, Korean immigrant community living in an ethnic ghetto, Koreatown, whereas in Oklahoma a Korean community does not exist, per se. In Oklahoma families live within larger, Caucasian, English-dominated residential areas where the major opportunity for socializing with other Koreans comes from sporadic activities sponsored by the Korean church. Therefore, size and cohesiveness of ethnic community appears to have a strong, inverse relationship with feelings of alienation.

The level of social isolation has a notably stronger relationship to place of residence than does that of powerlessness and total alienation. As shown in the results of the depth-interviews, the language barrier was one of the major sources of feelings of alienation. Those elderly who live in an ethnic ghetto in Los Angeles do not have to speak English a good deal of the time. On the other hand, those elderly who live in Oklahoma are more likely to face the language problem because they live in a predominantly English-speaking environment. The language barrier in such an environment may cause a person to avoid activities and consequently bring about feelings of social isolation. Thus, those elderly who live in Oklahoma perceive more social isolation than those who have the infrastructures of Los Angeles' Koreatown as a source of support.

Transportation problems can be another factor for different feelings of social isolation between the two groups. Because the bus system is extremely accessible and extensive in Los Angeles, people have less of a chance to become isolated from society. In contrast, those elderly who live in Oklahoma

have more chance to be isolated from society because the bus system is not sufficient and many elderly cannot drive.

Besides the language barrier and transportation problems, Los Angeles' Koreatown has many kinds of elderly associations which have various plans to help Korean elderly--periodic picnics, English schools, various activity classes, and so on. Oklahoma has only one simple association. These facts follow Cantor's (1975) findings that the elderly who live in urban American society are supported by informal services offered by family, friends, and neighbors, and by formal services provided through local public and private social and health service organizations. Clearly, the elderly Korean Americans who live in Los Angeles, where social services for this ethnic group are much more developed and diversified than those of Oklahoma, have more opportunity to get these services and to meet with others so as not to become isolated. The relative urbanization, Los Angeles being much more urbanized than Oklahoma, as well as the highly developed social service structures with the Korean ghetto in Los Angeles are both significant factors in fighting social isolation.

This findings support Murphey's (1965) research which indicated that those Chinese who live in Chinatown had the lowest hospitalization rates for mental health problems among Chinese in Canada. Finding of the present study also support Starr and Robert's (1982) and David's (1969) reports, which indicated that those who live in a community which supports a high degree of heterogeneity showed a higher level of adjustment in host community. Thus, the melting pot atmosphere of Los Angeles where a multiplicity of languages are spoken in a variety of ethnic neighborhoods makes for an atmosphere of tolerance which does not exist in the much more homogeneous English-speaking culture of Oklahoma. As a result, the variable of residence, especially

for immigrants, has a strong relationship to feelings of alienation as well as to mental health and adjustment problems.

Gender

No significant relationships were found between gender and the levels of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, or total alienation. As shown in Table V, the mean scores of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, or total alienation between male and female Korean elderly were not statistically different. This result would seem to be in keeping with the Owie's (1982) finding that there was no significant difference in the level of social alienation between female and male foreign students. However, it should be noted that Jackson (1980) argues that minority aged women tend to be at higher risk than aged men for psychological problems, due largely to their inferior social status. And, the Korean survey (Korea Survey Polls Ltd., 1984) for the aged showed that female elderly felt more loneliness than male elderly.

Age

Significant relationships were found between age and the levels of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, and total alienation. The older the person the higher perceived the degree of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, and total alienation. This finding seems to be explained by the inability of older persons, who often have a set behavioral repertoire and who are thus relatively inflexible, to adjust to the host society.

As mentioned by many researchers (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981; Nguyen & Henkin, 1982; Koh & Bell, 1987; Hurh, 1977; & Yu, 1983), language is the most important factor in adjusting to a host society. In a case of the Korean elderly,

the older people have less of a chance to be exposed to English in the course of their lives, and thus, in comparison to recent generations who have learned English in Korean schools, they have more adjustment problems. In addition to the language barrier, transportation problems would be another factor for the immigrants to overcome in order to effect successful adjustment in the host society. Almost no elderly Koreans drove in Korea, nor did they learn to drive once established in the U.S.

Besides these findings, the work of other researchers (Cullar & Weeks, 1980; & Kwon, 1978) may shed some light on the question of why the Korean elderly are not as ready to adapt as the typical first generation immigrant. As followers of children, the motivations of the elderly generally focus on preserving the family as compared to the motivation of the original immigrant, which is to become an American. Also, the other people are more used to living within the old traditional Korean norm of filial piety than the younger ones. So, the older people who have a more inflexible mind set based on traditional Korean values as well as expectations about a privileged life as an aged person in a traditional Korean culture, have more chance to feel alienated with a new norm. This supports the Korean survey for the aged's (Korea Survey Polls Ltd., 1984) finding that the older elderly feel more loneliness than the younger elderly.

Years of Education

No significant relationships were found between years of education and the levels of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, or total alienation. Surprisingly, these findings don't seem to support any of the previous research.

The relationships between education and adjustment problems, psychological conflict, or mental illness have been either positive or negative in previous research. Kiefer, et al. (1985), Choi (1982), and Kranau, et al. (1982) found that the higher the level of education, the more satisfactory the individual's personal adjustment among the immigrants. On the other hand, Malzberg (1965) felt that a higher education for certain minority immigrant groups may be conducive to higher rates of mental illness, as in the case of Puerto Ricans in New York. Starr and Roberts (1982) also reported that the higher the level of education obtained by a refugee, the poorer the personal adjustment.

In my pilot study, which was done with eight subjects, the results indicated that those who are more educated experience more stronger feelings of alienation than those who are less educated. However, alienation has no relationship with years of formal schooling among elderly Korean Americans in the present study, which was done with 137 subjects. This unusual finding is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Korean American elderly had been educated in Korea more than 30 years ago and had lived in Korea for a long time after being educated. Furthermore, almost every elderly person immigrated when he or she was old. Thus, the problems of age and cultural conflict seem to so overshadow educational difference as to make education meaningless. Both the educated and the relatively uneducated among the Korean elderly must grapple with the physical reality of old age as well as the cultural realities of life in the United States being radically different from the aged life they expected to live in Korea. The stress of physical infirmity as well as emotional-cultural dissonance does not appear to be at all ameliorated by education.

Time in the U.S.

There were significant relationships between the time in the U.S. and the levels of normlessness, social isolation, and total alienation. No significant relationship was found between the time in the U.S. and the level of powerlessness. Those elderly who have lived a shorter period in the United States tend to perceive more normlessness, more social isolation, and more alienation than those elderly who have lived in the United States longer.

As time goes on, cultural assimilation starts (Hurh, 1977) and less adjustment problems exist. Those elderly who have lived a shorter period in the United States have more problems with language, transportation, loneliness, and especially adaptation to the new culture. According to the depth-interviews of this study, the Korean elderly first experience feelings of disappointment about their children and feel alienated because their children who have lived in the United States are already too much assimilated to American society and do not care for the elderly in the traditional Korean manner. However, as time goes on, elderly Korean Americans better understand their children and their way of life in America, consequently, their feelings of alienation can be eliminated. This finding supports Desbarats' (1986) and Nguyen and Henkin's (1982) findings that those Vietnamese refugees who have lived longer in the United States showed better adaptation than those who arrived later, and Kiefer, et al.'s (1985) finding that the person who arrived in the United States recently was at greatest risk for difficulty in psychosocial adaptation.

Living Arrangement

The Pearson correlation matrix showed that there was significant relationship between living arrangement 1 and the level of social isolation, but

not between living arrangement 1 and powerlessness, normlessness, and total alienation. This finding indicates that those elderly who live with their spouses felt less social isolation than those who do not live with their spouses. However, there were no significant relationships between living arrangement 2 and the levels of powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, or total alienation. As this result, it can be said that the level of social isolation is at least related to whether elderly Korean Americans live with or without their spouses, while it is not related with whether they live with or without children.

Whang (1987) found that elderly Korean Americans who were living with spouses and children perceived less stress in their lives. Kiefer, et al. (1985) showed that elderly Korean Americans who lived alone or only with a spouse tended to exhibit less positive morale and a less positive self-concept than those who lived with adult children's families. In contrast to these studies, the findings of my research suggest that these elderly, most of whom realize shortly after their arrival that they must deal with generational and cultural gaps between themselves and their children, come to rely much more on spouses who have a similar set of cultural values and who are struggling with similar immigration experiences.

Discussion of the In-Depth Interviews

Elderly Korean Americans identified five major causes of alienation, which are in the rank order of their frequency: language barrier, conflict with children, loneliness, transportation problems, and discrimination. However, based on this researcher's observation, the individual levels of alienation in each category vary; and the levels of alienation resulting from conflict with children and loneliness are generally more serious and deeper than those deriving from

the language barrier, transportation problems, and discrimination. Language barrier and transportation problems cause alienation and cause inconvenience in these people's daily life. However, conflict with children and loneliness cause psychological problems which are harder to deal with.

Usually, conflict with children comes from culture shock, such as the elderly's confrontation with children's loss of traditional Korean values of filial piety, children's rapid assimilation into the American society, children's adoption of the American way of child rearing, etc. Bereft of the traditional status accorded them by the doctrine of filial piety, the elderly not only experience conflict with their children but also conflict with their own expectations about their old age. These problems occur more often among those elderly who have lived in the United States a shorter period of time than among those elderly who have lived here longer. Kiefer, et al.'s (1985) finding also showed that the recent Korean immigrants are more stressed as a result of confronting the loss of Korean values in their family life.

Even though loneliness was reported as the third most frequently reported source of alienation for elderly Korean Americans, the level of alienation was described by the subjects as being as serious as that associated with conflict with children. This condition was substantially greater among those elderly who live in Oklahoma. The absence of close friendships, loss of the typical Korean elder role, and living alone are main sources of loneliness.

The language barrier was the most frequently reported cause of alienation for the elderly Korean Americans. However, the level of alienation from language problems varied. As many researchers (Choi, 1982; Kwon, 1978; Starr & Roberts, 1982; & Yu, 1983) have mentioned, the language barrier is the most serious problem in adjusting to a new environment. Elderly Korean Americans were especially prone to this problem as they had little chance to

learn English while they lived in Korea due to the low level of education and the scarcity of English language instruction during their school years. Besides this problem, the elderly are more cautious about learning, need more time to integrate their responses, are less capable of dealing with new material that cannot readily be integrated with earlier experiences, and are less accurate than younger people (Hurlock, 1975). Although some elderly want to learn English, they have problems because of the lack of social services for teaching English. They also sometimes have transportation problems that prohibit participation in English classes. With these reasons, it is difficult for elderly Korean Americans to learn English, which, in turn, brings continuous adjustment problems and feelings of alienation.

Transportation problems also make elderly Korean Americans feel alienated. Because they cannot travel as they wish, they feel they are living in a "prison without bars". Elderly Korean Americans generally had no opportunity to learn to drive at a young age in Korea, and because many people immigrated at old age, it is hard to learn how to drive in the United States.

Discrimination was another factor for alienation among elderly Korean Americans. Confronted with the quadruple factors of age, racial, economic and ethnic discrimination identified in other research by Domanlum (1983), many of the elderly in the present study felt stressed. Perceiving themselves already as strangers within their own families and having to develop strategies for dealing with hostility from children and grandchildren, these people are already emotionally overloaded. Thus, their tolerance for discrimination may be lowered because of these familial conflicts. Dealing with both internal (familial) hostility and external (discrimination) hostility leaves the elderly feeling an understandable degree of alienation.

Practical Implications

The Korean aged grew up in a society in which the sense of family loyalty was even stronger than that of national loyalty (Lee, 1977). In the family, the elder had a position of respect, and maintained the role as head of the household even after their children married and had children of their own (Kwon, 1978). These people came to a new country, expecting to be rewarded in the traditional manner in their later years for their labors with a status respected in the community and by their families. However, in a society like that of the United States where the rewards for achievement and productivity accrue to the individual rather than to the family or group, and where future potential is more important than past accomplishments in evaluating the worth of a person, the wisdom and the accomplishments of the elderly were often perceived as irrelevant or were forgotten and ignored (Kalish & Moriwaki, 1973). Williamson (1981) further analyzes these patterns suggesting that the older parent in the United States no longer has any special position or privilege simply because of his historical role as biological and psychological source. Neither duty nor obligation is perceived by children as being intrinsically required or owed to their parents. Thus, adult children feel that they can offer support without assuming emotional responsibility or burden for the welfare, happiness, or the survival of the aging parents.

In summary, the normal family pattern in the United States emphasizes the children becoming increasingly independent so that ultimately as adults these children will relate to their parents as peers rather than as authority figures. This pattern is extremely alien to the traditional Korean elderly parent whose socialization causes them to see the change in status from authority figure to peer as a loss of status.

Many elderly Korean Americans are suffering from a discrepancy between their expectations for family unity, filial piety, and respected personal status as is typical in Korea and the actual level of attainment of these expectations after their arrival in this country. In effect, these elderly are struggling with a true cultural dissonance that has both external (social) as well as internal (individual) ramifications. Studies like this one, which identify older immigrants who are at risk for poor adaptation, should help to maximize the effectiveness of interventions with these immigrants. For example, the findings of this present study that the language barrier and transportation problems are significant factors in elevating feelings of alienation will provide community agencies and adult children with a practical starting point for intervention. Furthermore, investigation may be extended into other areas of daily living and practical problems that are positive indicators of alienation.

The importance of conflict with children, loneliness, and discrimination as the sources of alienation may suggest intervention strategies for counselors. Information that the counselor or the social worker has about the individual immigrant's behavior, attitudes, rituals, social arrangements, and the culture from which the individual came is critical and necessary information. The results of this study suggest possibilities for developing counseling services for young Koreans who are planning to bring their parents to the United States. Such programs could teach about stress and coping, while exploring practical ways to aid children in minimizing feelings of alienation and failure on the parents' part. The findings on the relationship between place of residence and alienation are important to those who have a chance to select the place where the elderly will live. The findings on the relationship between time in the U.S. and alienation are also important--both to promote optimism in immigrant clients and to set realistic goals for counseling. The findings on the relationship

between age and alienation may provide adult children with a sense of the multiple needs of support and sources of stress of their old parents. Thus, these findings may eventually lead to counseling that has a positive impact on intergenerational relationships.

Finally, these findings which suggest the degree of alienation that results from age coupled with cultural dissonance, may be generalizable to other ethnic groups whose native culture varies significantly from that of the United States. Thus, future investigations can be based on this study's microcosmic view of the stresses of immigration generally, immigration for the elderly, and immigration from a non-Western to a Western culture.

Recommendations

The recommendations address two particular areas--limitations of this study and suggestions for further studies.

Non-random sampling was the main limitation of this study. Because the subjects were selected on the basis of convenience rather than randomly, and because the sample was limited only to those residing in Los Angeles and in the state of Oklahoma, generalizability to the entire population of elderly Korean American immigrants living in the United States is uncertain. In addition, because Dean's Alienation Scale is limited only to areas of "powerlessness", "normlessness", and "social isolation", it may not cover completely all of the aspects of the Korean elderly's alienation. Indeed, Dean's Alienation Scale may not deal directly with some immigrant-related experiences.

Many questions about the experience of elderly Korean Americans have yet to be answered. Further research is needed to investigate more independent variables--such as time of arrival in the United States, economic

situation, occupation in Korea, type of religion, and language proficiency--to find out which variable is most predictive of level of alienation in this cultural group. Perhaps a more interesting study will be to find Korean elderly subjects who have lived only one or two years in the United States and then analyze which factors are the most serious contributors to feeling alienated in a strange land. Also, perhaps a longitudinal study using similar subjects to those in the present study would be useful to gathering information as to which factors persist as sources of alienation, what correlations exist between advancing age and amelioration or intensification of alienations, and predictions as to those strategies for counseling this population that would be most useful at various states of the immigration-residence experience. Furthermore, a comparative study of male and female elderly who live alone may provide information as to whether there are significantly different levels of alienation between two sexes. Finally, the measurement instruments should be validated in a cultural context in order to insure valid data.

Conclusions

Both the statistical results and the verbatim testimony of the subjects of this study point to the large degree of risk which figures in the lives of these elderly immigrants. After spending more than half a century fulfilling their obligations to the Confucian system, they have reasonable expectation within that system that their devotion and hard work will be rewarded by their children who were once also products of the system. But these same children who are successful immigrants have undergone a hybridization process. In effect, they have become Korean Americans. And, the result is often that in the process of

becoming a hybrid, these children have lost touch with or are not in a situation that promotes maintaining traditional Korean values.

In contrast to their children, the elderly are Koreans who come to live in America. In most cases, they remain essentially Korean and are too old and/or do not wish to experience hybridization. Thus, inevitably these elderly are strangers to their own families. At an age when they have every expectation of experiencing comfort, respect, security, and devotion, the elderly Korean immigrants experience alienation, discrimination, confusion, and sometimes even disrespect. Thus, this group is truly estranged: ultimately they are not only strangers in a strange land, but strangers in their families, and finally strangers to themselves.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE IN ENGLISH

DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE

Below are some statements regarding public issues, with which some people agree and others disagree. Please give me your own opinion about these items, i.e., whether your agree or disagree with the items as they stand.

Please check in the appropriate blank, as follows:

_____ SD (Strongly Disagree)
_____ D (Disagree)
_____ U (Uncertain)
_____ A (Agree)
_____ SA (Strongly Agree)

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

2. I worry about the future facing today's children.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

3. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

4. The end often justifies the means.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

5.* Most people today seldom feel lonely.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

6. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

7. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

8.* Real friends are as easy as ever to find.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

9. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

10. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

11.* One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

12. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

13. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing major "shooting" war.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

14.* The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

15. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."

__SD __D __U __A __SA

16. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

17. There are few dependable ties between people any more.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

18. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

19. With so many religions abroad, one doesn't really know which to believe.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

20. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

21. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

22.* People are just naturally friendly and helpful.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

23. The future looks very dismal.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

24. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.

__SD __D __U __A __SA

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*Reversed items.

APPENDIX B

DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE IN KOREAN

1. 이세상에는 나 혼자밖에 없다는 생각이 가끔 든다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

2. 나는 오늘날의 어린이들이 앞으로 맞이할 미래가 걱정된다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

3. 내가 바라는 만큼 그렇게 자주 친구들로부터 초대를 받지 못한다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

4. 결과가 좋으면 수단은 가끔 나빠도 좋다고 생각한다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

5. 요즈음 대부분의 사람들은 쥐처럼 외롭다고 느끼지 않는다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

6. 가끔, 나는 다른 사람들이 나를 이용한다고 느낀다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

7. 사람들의 생각이 너무 많이 바뀌어서 내가 마음을 둘 곳이 있을지 궁금하다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

8. 진정한 친구를 사귀는 일은 젊었을 때 보다 어렵지 않다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

9. 어린이의 성장에 대해 책임지는 것은 두려운 일이다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다 2) 그렇지 않다 3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다 5) 정말 그렇다

10. 세상만사는 상대적이어서 지켜야 할 절대적인 규칙은 없다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

11. 남에게 친절을 베풀기만 하면 언제든지 친구를 만들수 있다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

12. 참된 삶의 의미가 무엇인지 하는 생각이 종종든다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

13. 전쟁을 방지하기 위해 내가 할수 있는 일은 거의 없다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

14. 우리가 살고있는 이 세상은 근본적으로 우호적인 곳이라 본다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

15. 결정을 내려야 할 일이 너무 많아서 나는 모든일을 가끔 내팽개치고 싶은 충동을 느낀다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

16. 오늘날 확실하게 말할 수 있는 것은 아무것도 확신할 수 없다는 것이다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

17. 사람들 사이에는 더 이상 믿을 만한 유대관계가 없을 듯하다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

18. 행운이 닿지 않는 한, 직장에서 승진할 기회가 거의 없다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

19. 너무 많은 종류의 종교가 있어서 사람들은 어느 종교를 믿어야 할 지 모른다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

20. 오늘날 우리 인간은 조직에 너무 얽매인 나머지 개인적인 문제에 있어서도 선택의 여지가 많지 않다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

21. 우리는 각자 삶이라는 기계의 한 톱니바퀴에 불과하다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

22. 사람들은 천성적으로 착하고 친절하다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

23. 미래가 아주 암담해 보인다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

24. 내가 마음먹은 만큼 자주 친구를 방문하는 편이 못된다.

1) 전혀 그렇지 않다　　2) 그렇지 않다　　3) 그저 그렇다

4) 그 렇 다　　5) 정말 그렇다

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following is a general question pool from which the interviewer drew questions stimulate discussion during the in-depth interviews.

1. How did you come to the U.S.?
2. How do you feel about your life here in the U.S. being different than you expected?
3. If living in the U.S. different than you expected, explain that difference.
4. What did you picture before you came when you thought about your life in the U.S.?
5. What were your feelings as you were preparing to leave Korea and emigrate to the U.S.?
6. Does living in the U.S. match or not match your earlier expectations?
7. What do you miss most from the dreams you had about life in the U.S.?
8. To whom are you closest here in the U.S.?
9. If you could make your life different right now, what would you change?
10. How do you feel about your family here in the U.S.? Is it the same or different than you experienced in Korea?
11. What about your family life here gives you the most joy? What is most disappointing?
12. Are Americans the same or different than you thought they would be; please explain.
13. What makes you feel alienated here in the U.S.?
14. How do you deal with your feeling of alienation?

VITA

Jeong-Hwa Moon

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: ALIENATION OF ELDERLY KOREAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS AS RELATED TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE, GENDER, AGE, YEARS OF EDUCATION, TIME IN THE U.S. AND LIVING ARRANGEMENT

Major Field: Applied Behavioral Studies

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